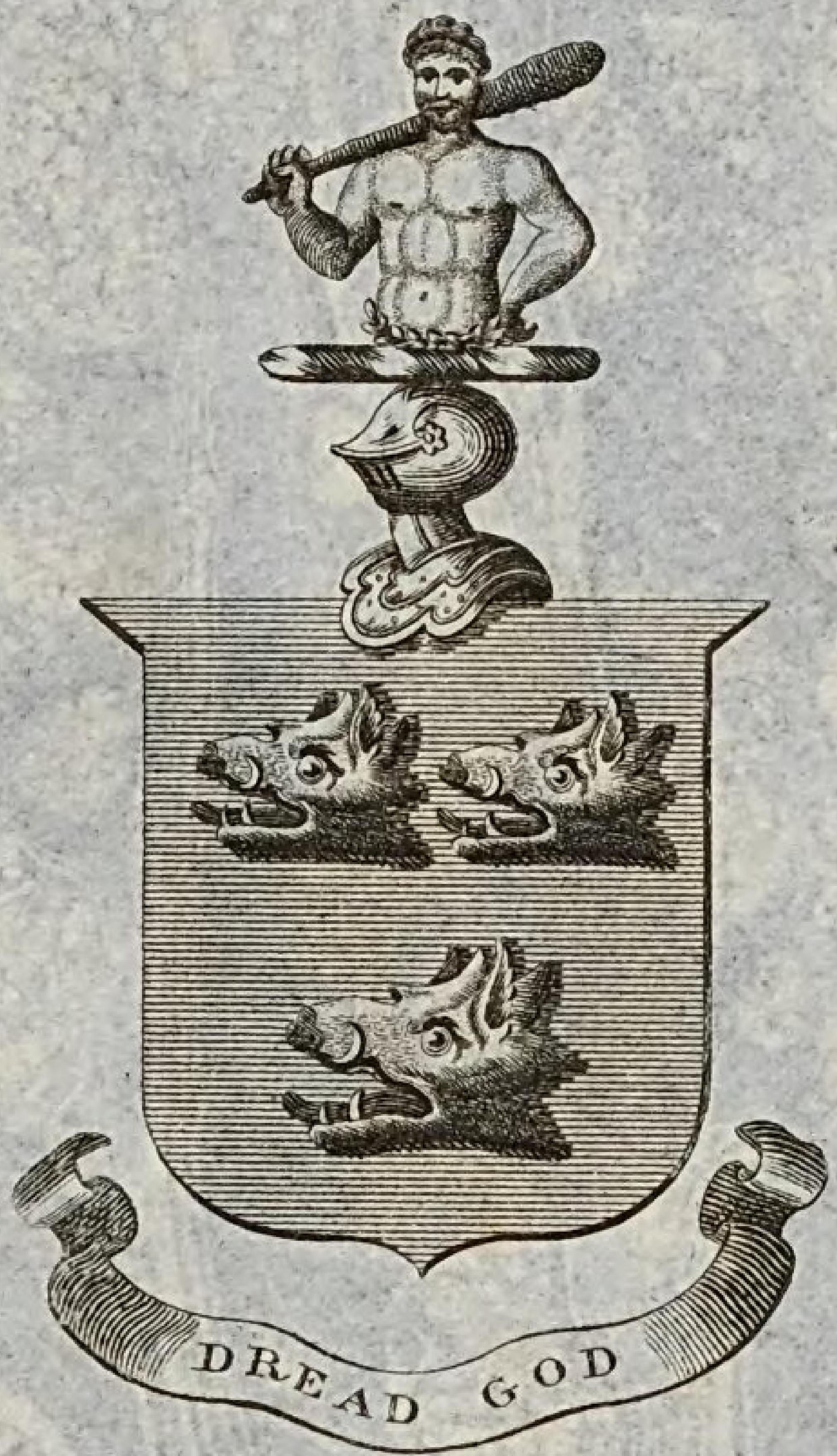


CAPTN. GORDON,

Royal Navy.

KÖNIGL. BAYER. BIBLIOTHEK BAMBERG

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TWELFTH VOLUME.

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LIVES

LIVES

OF SUNDRY

EMINENT PERSONS.

FATHER PAUL SARPI.

FATHER PAUL, whose name, before he entered into the monastic life, was Peter Sarpi, was born at Venice, August 14, 1552. His father followed merchandize, but with so little success, that, at his death, he left his family very ill provided for, but under the care of a mother, whose piety was likely to bring the blessing of Providence upon them, and whose wise conduct supplied the want of fortune by advantages of greater value.

Happily for young Sarpi, she had a brother, master of a celebrated school, under whose direction he was placed by her. Here he lost no time, but cultivated his abilities, naturally of the first rate, with unwearied application. He was born for study, having a natural aversion to pleasure and gaiety, and a memory so tenacious, that he could repeat thirty verses upon once hearing them.

Proportionable to his capacity was his progress in literature: at thirteen, having made himself master of school-learning, he turned his studies to philosophy and the mathematicks, and entered upon logick under Capella of Cremona, who, though a celebrated master

of that ſcience, confeſſed himſelf in a very little time unable to give his pupil farther inſtructions.

As Capella was of the order of the Servites, his ſcholar was induced, by his acquaintance with him, to engage in the ſame profeſſion, though his uncle and his mother repreſented to him the hardſhips and auſterities of that kind of life, and adviſed him with great zeal againſt it. But he was ſteady in his reſolutions, and in 1566 took the habit of the order, being then only in his 14th year, a time of life in moſt perſons very improper for ſuch engagements, but in him attended with ſuch maturity of thought, and ſuch a ſettled temper, that he never ſeemed to regret the choice he then made, and which he confirmed by a ſolemn publick profeſſion in 1572.

At a general chapter of the Servites, held at Mantua, Paul (for ſo we ſhall now call him) being then only twenty years old, diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much in a publick diſputation by his genius and learning, that William duke of Mantua, a great patron of letters, ſolicited the conſent of his ſuperiors to retain him at his court, and not only made him publick profeſſor of divinity in the cathedral, but honoured him with many proofs of his eſteem.

But Father Paul, finding a court life not agreeable to his temper, quitted it two years afterwards, and retired to his beloved privacies, being then not only acquainted with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee languages, but with philoſophy, the mathematicks, canon and civil law, all parts of natural philoſophy, and chemiſtry itſelf; for his application was unintermitted, his head clear, his apprehenſion quick, and his memory retentive.

Being

Being made a prieſt at twenty-two, he was diſtinguiſhed by the illuſtrious cardinal Borromeo with his confidence, and employed by him on many occaſions, not without the envy of perſons of leſs merit, who were ſo far exaſperated as to lay a charge againſt him, before the inquiſition, for denying that the Trinity could be proved from the firſt chapter of Geneſis; but the accuſation was too ridiculous to be taken notice of.

After this he paſſed ſucceſſively through the dignities of his order, and in the intervals of his employment applied himſelf to his ſtudies with ſo extenſive a capacity, as left no branch of knowledge untouched. By him Acquependente, the great anatomiſt, confeſſes that he was informed how viſion is performed; and there are proofs that he was not a ſtranger to the circulation of the blood. He frequently converſed upon aſtronomy with mathematicians, upon anatomy with ſurgeons, upon medicine with phyſicians, and with chemiſts upon the analyſis of metals, not as a ſuperficial enquirer, but as a complete maſter.

But the hours of repoſe, that he employed ſo well, were interrupted by a new information in the inquiſition, where a former acquaintance produced a letter written by him in cyphers, in which he ſaid, "that "he deteſted the court of Rome, and that no pre-"ferment was obtained there but by diſhoneſt "means." This accuſation, however dangerous, was paſſed over on account of his great reputation, but made ſuch impreſſion on that court, that he was afterwards denied a biſhoprick by Clement VIII. After theſe difficulties were ſurmounted, Father Paul again retired to his ſolitude, where he appears, by

ſome writings drawn up by him at that time, to have turned his attention more to improvements in piety than learning. Such was the care with which he read the ſcriptures, that, it being his cuſtom to draw a line under any paſſage which he intended more nicely to conſider, there was not a ſingle word in his New Teſtament but was underlined; the ſame marks of attention appeared in his Old Teſtament, Pſalter, and Breviary.

But the moſt active ſcene of his life began about the year 1615, when Pope Paul Vth, exaſperated by ſome decrees of the ſenate of Venice that interfered with the pretended rights of the church, laid the whole ſtate under an interdict.

The ſenate, filled with indignation at this treatment, forbade the biſhops to receive or publiſh the Pope's bull; and convening the rectors of the churches, commanded them to celebrate divine ſervice in the accuſtomed manner, with which moſt of them readily complied; but the Jeſuits and ſome others refuſing, were by a ſolemn edict expelled the ſtate.

Both parties, having proceeded to extremities, employed their ableſt writers to defend their meaſures: on the Pope's ſide, among others, Cardinal Bellarmine entered the liſts, and with his confederate authors defended the papal claims with great ſcurrility of expreſſion, and very ſophiſtical reaſonings, which were confuted by the Venetian apologiſts in much more decent language, and with much greater ſolidity of argument.

On this occaſion Father Paul was moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed, by his *Defence of the Rights of the ſupreme*

preme Magiſtrate, his *Treatiſe of Excommunication* tranſlated from Gerſon, with an *Apology*, and other writings, for which he was cited before the inquiſition at Rome; but it may be eaſily imagined that he did not obey the ſummons.

The Venetian writers, whatever might be the abilities of their adverſaries, were at leaſt ſuperior to them in the juſtice of their cauſe. The propoſitions maintained on the ſide of Rome were theſe: That the Pope is inveſted with all the authority of heaven and earth. That all princes are his vaſſals, and that he may annul their laws at pleaſure. That kings may appeal to him, as he is temporal monarch of the whole earth. That he can diſcharge ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and make it their duty to take up arms againſt their ſovereign. That he may depoſe kings without any fault committed by them, if the good of the church requires it: that the clergy are exempt from all tribute to kings, and are not accountable to them even in caſes of high treaſon. That the Pope cannot err: that his deciſions are to be received and obeyed on pain of ſin, though all the world ſhould judge them to be falſe: that the Pope is God upon earth; that his ſentence and that of God are the ſame; and that to call *his* power in queſtion, is to call in queſtion the power of God: maxims equally ſhocking, weak, pernicious, and abſurd; which did not require the abilities or learning of Father Paul, to demonſtrate their falſehood, and deſtructive tendency.

It may be eaſily imagined that ſuch principles were quickly overthrown, and that no court but that of Rome thought it for its intereſt to favour them.

 The

The Pope, therefore, finding his authors confuted, and his caufe abandoned, was willing to conclude the affair by treaty, which, by the mediation of Henry IV. of France, was accommodated upon terms very much to the honour of the Venetians.

But the defenders of the Venetian rights were, though comprehended in the treaty, excluded by the Romans from the benefit of it; fome upon different pretences were imprifoned, fome fent to the galleys, and all debarred from preferment. But their malice was chiefly aimed againft Father Paul, who foon found the effects of it; for as he was going one night to his convent, about fix months after the accommodation, he was attacked by five ruffians armed with ftilettoes, who gave him no lefs than fifteen ftabs, three of which wounded him in fuch a manner, that he was left for dead. The murderers fled for refuge to the nuncio, and were afterwards received into the Pope's dominions, but were purfued by divine juftice, and all, except one man who died in prifon, perifhed by violent deaths.

This and other attempts upon his life obliged him to confine himfelf to his convent, where he engaged in writing the hiftory of the Council of Trent, a work unequalled for the judicious difpofition of the matter, and artful texture of the narration, commended by Dr. Burnet as the completeft model of hiftorical writing, and celebrated by Mr. Wotton as equivalent to any production of antiquity; in which the reader finds "Liberty without licentioufnefs, piety without "hypocrify, freedom of fpeech without neglect of "decency, feverity without rigour, and extenfive "learning without oftentation."

In

In this, and other works of lefs confequence, he fpent the remaining part of his life, to the beginning of the year 1622, when he was feized with a cold and fever, which he neglected till it became incurable. He languifhed more than twelve months, which he fpent almoft wholly in a preparation for his paffage into eternity; and among his prayers and afpirations was often heard to repeat, *Lord! now let thy fervant depart in peace.*

On Sunday the eighth of January of the next year, he rofe, weak as he was, to mafs, and went to take his repaft with the reft, but on Monday was feized with a weaknefs that threatened immediate death; and on Thurfday prepared for his change by receiving the *Viaticum* with fuch marks of devotion, as equally melted and edified the beholders.

Through the whole courfe of his illnefs to the laft hour of his life, he was confulted by the fenate in publick affairs, and returned anfwers, in his greateft weaknefs, with fuch prefence of mind as could only arife from the confcioufnefs of innocence.

On Sunday, the day of his death, he had the paffion of our bleffed Saviour read to him out of St. John's gofpel, as on every other day of that week, and fpoke of the mercy of his Redeemer, and his confidence in his merits.

As his end evidently approached, the brethren of the convent came to pronounce the laft prayers, with which he could only join in his thoughts, being able to pronounce no more than thefe words, *Efto perpetua, Mayft thou laft for ever*; which was underftood to be a prayer for the profperity of his country.

Thus

Thus died Father Paul, in the 71ſt year of his age: hated by the Romans as their moſt formidable enemy, and honoured by all the learned for his abilities, and by the good for his integrity. His deteſtation of the corruption of the Roman church appears in all his writings, but particularly in this memorable paſſage of one of his letters: "There is nothing "more eſſential than to ruin the reputation of the "Jeſuits: by the ruin of the Jeſuits, Rome will be "ruined; and if Rome is ruined, religion will re-"form of itſelf."

He appears by many paſſages of his life to have had a high eſteem of the church of England; and his friend, Father Fulgentio, who had adopted all his notions, made no ſcruple of adminiſtering to Dr. Duncomb, an Engliſh gentleman that fell ſick at Venice, the communion in both kinds, according to the Common Prayer which he had with him in Italian.

He was buried with great pomp at the publick charge, and a magnificent monument was erected to his memory.

BOERHAAVE.

THE following account of the late Dr. BOERHAAVE, ſo loudly celebrated, and ſo univerſally lamented through the whole learned world, will, we hope, be not unacceptable to our readers: We could have made it much larger, by adopting flying reports, and inſerting unatteſted facts; a cloſe adherence to certainty has contracted our narrative, and hindered it from ſwelling to that bulk, at which modern hiſtories generally arrive.

Dr. Herman Boerhaave was born on the laſt day of December, 1668, about one in the morning, at Voorhout, a village two miles diſtant from Leyden: his father, James Boerhaave, was miniſter of Voorhout, of whom his ſon *, in a ſmall account of his own life, has given a very amiable character, for the ſimplicity and openneſs of his behaviour, for his exact

* "Erat Hermanni Genitor Latine, Græce, Hebraice ſciens: peritus valde hiſtoriarum & gentium. Vir apertus, candidus, ſimplex: paterfamilias optimus amore, cura, diligentia, frugalitate, prudentia. Qui non magna in re, ſed plenus virtutis, novem liberis educandis exemplum præbuit ſingulare, quid exacta parſimonia polleat, & frugalitas." *Orig. Edit.*

frugality

frugality in the management of a narrow fortune, and the prudence, tendernefs, and diligence, with which he educated a numerous family of nine children. He was eminently fkilled in hiftory and genealogy, and verfed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages.

His mother was Hagar Daelder, a tradefman's daughter of Amfterdam, from whom he might, perhaps, derive an hereditary inclination to the ftudy of phyfick, in which fhe was very inquifitive, and had obtained a knowledge of it not common in female ftudents.

This knowledge, however, fhe did not live to communicate to her fon; for fhe died in 1673, ten years after her marriage.

His father, finding himfelf encumbered with the care of feven children, thought it neceffary to take a fecond wife, and in July 1674, was married to Eve du Bois, daughter of a minifter of Leyden, who, by her prudent and impartial conduct, fo endeared herfelf to her hufband's children, that they all regarded her as their own mother.

Herman Boerhaave was always defigned by his father for the miniftry, and with that view inftructed by him in grammatical learning, and the firft elements of languages; in which he made fuch a proficiency, that he was, at the age of eleven years, not only mafter of the rules of grammar, but capable of tranflating with tolerable accuracy, and not wholly ignorant of critical niceties.

At intervals, to recreate his mind, and ftrengthen his conftitution, it was his father's cuftom to fend him into the fields, and employ him in agriculture and

ſuch kind of rural occupations, which he continued through all his life to love and practiſe; and by this viciſſitude of ſtudy and exerciſe preſerved himſelf, in a great meaſure, from thoſe diſtempers and depreſſions which are frequently the conſequences of indiſcreet diligence, and uninterrupted application; and from which ſtudents, not well acquainted with the conſtitution of the human body, ſometimes fly for relief to wine inſtead of exerciſe, and purchaſe temporary eaſe by the hazard of the moſt dreadful conſequences.

The ſtudies of young Boerhaave were, about this time, interrupted by an accident, which deſerves a particular mention, as it firſt inclined him to that ſcience, to which he was by nature ſo well adapted, and which he afterwards carried to ſo great perfection.

In the twelfth year of his age, a ſtubborn, painful, and malignant ulcer, broke out upon his left thigh; which, for near five years, defeated all the art of the ſurgeons and phyſicians, and not only afflicted him with moſt excruciating pains, but expoſed him to ſuch ſharp and tormenting applications, that the diſeaſe and remedies were equally inſufferable. Then it was that his own pain taught him to compaſſionate others, and his experience of the inefficacy of the methods then in uſe incited him to attempt the diſcovery of others more certain.

He began to practiſe at leaſt honeſtly, for he began upon himſelf; and his firſt eſſay was a prelude to his future ſucceſs, for, having laid aſide all the preſcriptions of his phyſicians, and all the applications of his ſurgeons, he, at laſt, by tormenting the part with ſalt and urine, effected a cure.

That

That he might, on this occaſion, obtain the aſſiſtance of ſurgeons with leſs inconvenience and expence, he was brought, by his father, at fourteen, to Leyden, and placed in the fourth claſs of the publick ſchool, after being examined by the maſter: here his application and abilities were equally conſpicuous. In ſix months, by gaining the firſt prize in the fourth claſs, he was raiſed to the fifth; and in ſix months more, upon the ſame proof of the ſuperiority of his genius, rewarded with another prize, and tranſlated to the ſixth; from whence it is uſual in ſix months more to be removed to the univerſity.

Thus did our young ſtudent advance in learning and reputation, when, as he was within view of the univerſity, a ſudden and unexpected blow threatened to defeat all his expectations.

On the 12th of November, in 1682, his father died, and left behind him a very ſlender proviſion for his widow and nine children, of which the eldeſt was not yet ſeventeen years old.

This was a moſt afflicting loſs to the young ſcholar, whoſe fortune was by no means ſufficient to bear the expences of a learned education, and who therefore ſeemed to be now ſummoned by neceſſity to ſome way of life more immediately and certainly lucrative; but, with a reſolution equal to his abilities, and a ſpirit not ſo depreſſed and ſhaken, he determined to break through the obſtacles of poverty, and ſupply, by diligence, the want of fortune.

He therefore aſked and obtained the conſent of his guardians to proſecute his ſtudies as long as his patrimony would ſupport him; and, continuing his wonted induſtry, gained another prize.

He

He was now to quit the ſchool for the univerſity, but, on account of the weakneſs yet remaining in his thigh, was, at his own entreaty, continued ſix months longer under the care of his maſter, the learned Winſchotan, where he once more was honoured with the prize.

At his removal to the univerſity, the ſame genius and induſtry met with the ſame encouragement and applauſe. The learned Triglandius, one of his father's friends, made ſoon after profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, diſtinguiſhed him in a particular manner, and recommended him to the friendſhip of Mr. Van Apphen, in whom he found a generous and conſtant patron.

He became now a diligent hearer of the moſt celebrated profeſſors, and made great advances in all the ſciences; ſtill regulating his ſtudies with a view principally to divinity, for which he was originally intended by his father, and for that reaſon exerted his utmoſt application to attain an exact knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.

Being convinced of the neceſſity of mathematical learning, he began to ſtudy thoſe ſciences in 1687, but without that intenſe induſtry with which the pleaſure he found in that kind of knowledge induced him afterwards to cultivate them.

In 1690, having performed the exerciſes of the univerſity with uncommon reputation, he took his degree in philoſophy; and on that occaſion diſcuſſed the important and arduous ſubject of the diſtinct natures of the ſoul and body, with ſuch accuracy, perſpicuity, and ſubtilty, that he entirely confuted all the ſophiſtry of Epicurus, Hobbes, and Spinoſa, and

and equally raiſed the characters of his piety and erudition.

Divinity was ſtill his great employment, and the chief aim of all his ſtudies. He read the ſcriptures in their original languages, and when difficulties occurred, conſulted the interpretations of the moſt antient fathers, whom he read in order of time, beginning with Clemens Romanus.

In the peruſal of thoſe early writers *, he was ſtruck with the profoundeſt veneration of the ſimplicity and purity of their doctrine, the holineſs of their lives, and the ſanctity of the diſcipline practiſed by them; but, as he deſcended to the lower ages, found the peace of Chriſtianity broken by uſeleſs controverſies, and its doctrines ſophiſticated by the ſubtilties of

* "Jungebat his exercitiis quotidianam patrum lectionem, ſecundum chronologiam, a Clemente Romano exorſus, et juxta ſeriem ſeculorum deſcendens: ut *Jeſu Chriſti* doctrinam in *N. T.* traditam, primis patribus interpretantibus addiſceret.

"Horum ſimplicitatem ſinceræ doctrinæ, diſciplinæ ſanctitatem, vitæ Deo dicatæ integritatem adorabat. Subtilitatem ſcholarum divina poſtmodum inquinaſſe dolebat. Ægerrime tulit, Sacrorum interpretationem ex ſectis ſophiſtarum peti; & *Platonis*, *Ariſtotelis*, *Thomæ Aquinatis*, *Scoti*; ſuoque tempore Carteſii, cogitata metaphyſica adhiberi pro legibus, ad quas caſtigarentur ſacrorum ſcriptorum de Deo ſententiæ. Experiebatur acerba diſſidia, ingeniorumque ſubtiliſſimorum acerrima certamina, odia, ambitiones, inde cieri, foveri: adeo contraria paci cum Deo & homine. Nihil hic magis illi obſtabat; quam quod omnes aſſerant ſacram ſcripturam ἀνθρωποπαθῶς loquentem, θεοπρεπῶς explicandam; & θεοπρέπειαν ſinguli definiant ex placitis ſuæ metaphyſices. Horrebat, inde dominantis ſectæ prævalentem opinionem, orthodoxiæ modum, & regulas, unice dare juxta dictata metaphyſicorum, non ſacrarum literarum; unde tam variæ ſententiæ de doctrina ſimpliciſſima." *Orig. Edit.*

the

the ſchools. He found the holy writers interpreted according to the notions of philoſophers, and the chimeras of metaphyſicians adopted as articles of faith. He found difficulties raiſed by niceties, and fomented to bitterneſs and rancour. He ſaw the ſimplicity of the chriſtian doctrine corrupted by the private fancies of particular parties, while each adhered to its own philoſophy, and orthodoxy was confined to the ſect in power.

Having now exhauſted his fortune in the purſuit of his ſtudies, he found the neceſſity of applying to ſome profeſſion, that, without engroſſing all his time, might enable him to ſupport himſelf; and having obtained a very uncommon knowledge of the mathematicks, he read lectures in thoſe ſciences to a ſelect number of young gentlemen in the univerſity.

At length, his propenſion to the ſtudy of phyſick grew too violent to be reſiſted; and, though he ſtill intended to make divinity the great employment of his life, he could not deny himſelf the ſatisfaction of ſpending ſome time upon the medical writers, for the peruſal of which he was ſo well qualified by his acquaintance with the mathematicks and philoſophy.

But this ſcience correſponded ſo much with his natural genius, that he could not forbear making that his buſineſs which he intended only as his diverſion; and ſtill growing more eager, as he advanced further, he at length determined wholly to maſter that profeſſion, and to take his degree in phyſick, before he engaged in the duties of the miniſtry.

It is, I believe, a very juſt obſervation, that men's ambition is generally proportioned to their capacity.

Providence ſeldom ſends any into the world with an inclination to attempt great things, who have not abilities likewiſe to perform them. To have formed the deſign of gaining a complete knowledge of medicine by way of digreſſion from theological ſtudies, would have been little leſs than madneſs in moſt men, and would have only expoſed them to ridicule and contempt. But Boerhaave was one of thoſe mighty geniuſes, to whom ſcarce any thing appears impoſſible, and who think nothing worthy of their efforts but what appears inſurmountable to common underſtandings.

He began this new courſe of ſtudy by a diligent peruſal of Veſalius, Bartholine, and Fallopius; and, to acquaint himſelf more fully with the ſtructure of bodies, was a conſtant attendant upon Nuck's publick diſſections in the theatre, and himſelf very accurately inſpected the bodies of different animals.

Having furniſhed himſelf with this preparatory knowledge, he began to read the ancient phyſicians in the order of time, purſuing his enquiries downwards from Hippocrates through all the Greek and Latin writers.

Finding, as he tells us himſelf, that Hippocrates was the original ſource of all medical knowledge, and that all the later writers were little more than tranſcribers from him, he returned to him with more attention, and ſpent much time in making extracts from him, digeſting his treatiſes into method, and fixing them in his memory.

He then deſcended to the moderns, among whom none engaged him longer, or improved him more, than Sydenham, to whoſe merit he has left this atteſ-

tation,

tation, "that he frequently perufed him, and always "with greater eagernefs."

His infatiable curiofity after knowledge engaged him now in the practice of chemiftry, which he profecuted with all the ardour of a philofopher, whofe induftry was not to be wearied, and whofe love of truth was too ftrong to fuffer him to acquiefce in the reports of others.

Yet did he not fuffer one branch of fcience to withdraw his attention from others: anatomy did not withhold him from chemiftry, nor chemiftry, enchanting as it is, from the ftudy of botany, in which he was no lefs fkilled than in other parts of phyfick. He was not only a careful examiner of all the plants in the garden of the univerfity, but made excurfions for his further improvement into the woods and fields, and left no place unvifited where any increafe of botanical knowledge could be reafonably hoped for.

In conjunction with all thefe enquiries he ftill purfued his theological ftudies, and ftill, as we are informed by himfelf, "propofed, when he had made "himfelf mafter of the whole art of phyfick, and ob"tained the honour of a degree in that fcience, to "petition regularly for a licence to preach, and to "engage in the cure of fouls," and intended in his theological exercife to difcufs this queftion, "why "fo many were formerly converted to Chriftianity by "illiterate perfons, and fo few at prefent by men of "learning."

In purfuance of this plan he went to Hardewich, in order to take the degree of doctor in phyfick, which he obtained in July 1693, having performed a

publick difputation, "de utilitate explorandorum ex-"crementorum in ægris, ut fignorum."

Then returning to Leyden full of his pious defign of undertaking the miniftry, he found to his furprife unexpected obftacles thrown in his way, and an infinuation difperfed through the univerfity that made him fufpected, not of any flight deviation from received opinions, not of any pertinacious adherence to his own notions in doubtful and difputable matters, but of no lefs than Spinofifm, or, in plainer terms, of Atheifm itfelf.

How fo injurious a report came to be raifed, circulated, and credited, will be doubtlefs very eagerly inquired: we fhall therefore give the relation, not only to fatisfy the curiofity of mankind, but to fhew that no merit, however exalted, is exempt from being not only attacked, but wounded, by the moft contemptible whifpers. Thofe who cannot ftrike with force, can however poifon their weapon, and weak as they are, give mortal wounds, and bring a hero to the grave: fo true is that obfervation, that many are able to do hurt, but few to do good.

This deteftable calumny owed its rife to an incident from which no confequence of importance could be poffibly apprehended. As Boerhaave was fitting in a common boat, there arofe a converfation among the paffengers upon the impious and pernicious doctrine of Spinofa, which, as they all agreed, tends to the utter overthrow of all religion. Boerhaave fat, and attended filently to this difcourfe for fome time, till one of the company, willing to diftinguifh himfelf by his zeal, inftead of confuting the pofitions of Spinofa by argument, began to give a loofe to con-

tumelious

tumelious language, and virulent invectives, which Boerhaave was ſo little pleaſed with, that at laſt he could not forbear aſking him, whether he had ever read the author he declaimed againſt.

The orator, not being able to make much anſwer, was checked in the midſt of his invectives, but not without feeling a ſecret reſentment againſt the perſon who had at once interrupted his harangue, and expoſed his ignorance.

This was obſerved by a ſtranger who was in the boat with them; he enquired of his neighbour the name of the young man, whoſe queſtion had put an end to the diſcourſe, and having learned it, ſet it down in his pocket-book, as it appears, with a malicious deſign, for in a few days it was the common converſation at Leyden, that Boerhaave had revolted to Spinoſa.

It was in vain that his advocates and friends pleaded his learned and unanſwerable confutation of all atheiſtical opinions, and particularly of the ſyſtem of Spinoſa, in his diſcourſe of the diſtinction between ſoul and body. Such calumnies are not eaſily ſuppreſſed, when they are once become general. They are kept alive and ſupported by the malice of bad, and ſometimes by the zeal of good men, who, though they do not abſolutely believe them, think it yet the ſecureſt method to keep not only guilty but ſuſpected men out of publick employments, upon this principle, that the ſafety of many is to be preferred before the advantage of few.

Boerhaave, finding this formidable oppoſition raiſed againſt his pretenſions to eccleſiaſtical honours or preferments, and even againſt his deſign of aſſum-

ing the character of a divine, thought it neither necessary nor prudent to struggle with the torrent of popular prejudice, as he was equally qualified for a profession, not indeed of equal dignity or importance, but which must undoubtedly claim the second place among those which are of the greatest benefit to mankind.

He therefore applied himself to his medical studies with new ardour and alacrity, reviewed all his former observations and enquiries, and was continually employed in making new acquisitions.

Having now qualified himself for the practice of physick, he began to visit patients, but without that encouragement which others, not equally deserving, have sometimes met with. His business was, at first, not great, and his circumstances by no means easy; but still, superior to any discouragement, he continued his search after knowledge, and determined that prosperity, if ever he was to enjoy it, should be the consequence not of mean art, or disingenuous solicitations, but of real merit, and solid learning.

His steady adherence to his resolutions appears yet more plainly from this circumstance: he was, while he yet remained in this unpleasing situation, invited by one of the first favourites of King William III. to settle at the Hague, upon very advantageous conditions; but declined the offer. For having no ambition but after knowledge, he was desirous of living at liberty, without any restraint upon his looks, his thoughts, or his tongue, and at the utmost distance from all contentions, and state-parties. His time was wholly taken up in visiting the sick, studying, making chemical

mical experiments, ſearching into every part of medicine with the utmoſt diligence, teaching the mathematicks, and reading the ſcriptures, and thoſe authors who profeſs to teach a certain method of loving God *.

This was his method of living to the year 1701, when he was recommended by Van Berg to the univerſity, as a proper perſon to ſucceed Drelincurtius in the profeſſorſhip of phyſick, and elected without any ſolicitations on his part, and almoſt without his conſent, on the 18th of May.

On this occaſion, having obſerved, with grief, that Hippocrates, whom he regarded not only as the father but as the prince of phyſicians, was not ſufficiently read or eſteemed by young ſtudents, he pronounced an oration, "de commendando Studio Hippocratico;" by which he reſtored that great author to his juſt and ancient reputation.

He now began to read publick lectures with great applauſe, and was prevailed upon by his audience to enlarge his original deſign, and inſtruct them in chemiſtry.

This he undertook, not only to the great advan-

* "Circa hoc tempus, lautis conditionibus, lautioribus promiſſis, invitatus, plus vice ſimplici, a viro primariæ dignationis, qui gratia flagrantiſſima florebat regis Gulielmi III. ut Hagam-comitum ſedem caperet fortunarum, declinavit conſtans. Contentus videlicet vita libera, remota a turbis, ſtudiiſque porro percolendis unice impenſa, ubi non cogeretur alia dicere & ſimulare, alia ſentire & diſſimulare: affectuum ſtudiis rapi, regi. Sic tum vita erat, ægros viſere, mox domi in muſæo ſe condere, officinam Vulcaniam exercere; omnes medicinæ partes acerrime perſequi; mathematica etiam aliis tradere; ſacra legere, et auctores qui profitentur docere rationem certam amandi Deum." *Orig. Edit.*

tage of his pupils, but to the great improvement of the art itſelf, which had been hitherto treated only in a confuſed and irregular manner, and was little more than a hiſtory of particular experiments, not reduced to certain principles, nor connected one with another: this vaſt chaos he reduced to order, and made that clear and eaſy which was before to the laſt degree difficult and obſcure.

His reputation now began to bear ſome proportion to his merit, and extended itſelf to diſtant univerſities; ſo that, in 1703, the profeſſorſhip of phyſick being vacant at Groningen, he was invited thither; but he refuſed to leave Leyden, and choſe to continue his preſent courſe of life.

This invitation and refuſal being related to the governors of the univerſity of Leyden, they had ſo grateful a ſenſe of his regard for them, that they immediately voted an honorary increaſe of his ſalary, and promiſed him the firſt profeſſorſhip that ſhould be vacant.

On this occaſion he pronounced an oration upon the uſe of mechanicks in the ſcience of phyſick, in which he endeavoured to recommend a rational and mathematical enquiry into the cauſes of diſeaſes, and the ſtructure of bodies; and to ſhew the follies and weakneſſes of the jargon introduced by Paracelſus, Helmont, and other chemical enthuſiaſts, who have obtruded upon the world the moſt airy dreams, and inſtead of enlightening their readers with explications of nature, have darkened the plaineſt appearances, and bewildered mankind in error and obſcurity.

Boerhaave

Boerhaave had now for nine years read phyfical lectures, but without the title or dignity of a profeffor, when, by the death of profeffor Hotten, the profefforfhip of phyfick and botany fell to him of courfe.

On this occafion he afferted the fimplicity and facility of the fcience of phyfick, in oppofition to thofe that think obfcurity contributes to the dignity of learning, and that to be admired it is neceffary not to be underftood.

His profeffion of botany made it part of his duty to fuperintend the phyfical garden, which improved fo much by the immenfe number of new plants which he procured, that it was enlarged to twice its original extent.

In 1714 he was defervedly advanced to the higheft dignities of the univerfity, and in the fame year made phyfician of St. Auguftin's hofpital in Leyden, into which the ftudents are admitted twice a week, to learn the practice of phyfick.

This was of equal advantage to the fick and to the ftudents, for the fuccefs of his practice was the beft demonftration of the foundnefs of his principles.

When he laid down his office of governor of the univerfity in 1715, he made an oration upon the fubject of "attaining to certainty in natural philofophy;" in which he declares, in the ftrongeft terms, in favour of experimental knowledge, and reflects with juft feverity upon thofe arrogant philofophers, who are too eafily difgufted with the flow methods of obtaining true notions by frequent experiments, and who, poffeft with too high an opinion of their own abilities, rather

rather chuſe to conſult their own imaginations, than enquire into nature, and are better pleaſed with the charming amuſement of forming hypotheſes, than the toilſome drudgery of making obſervations.

The emptineſs and uncertainty of all thoſe ſyſtems, whether venerable for their antiquity, or agreeable for their novelty, he has evidently ſhewn; and not only declared, but proved, that we are intirely ignorant of the principles of things, and that all the knowledge we have is of ſuch qualities alone as are diſcoverable by experience, or ſuch as may be deduced from them by mathematical demonſtration.

This diſcourſe, filled as it was with piety, and a true ſenſe of the greatneſs of the Supreme Being, and the incomprehenſibility of his works, gave ſuch offence to a profeſſor of Franeker, who profeſſed the utmoſt eſteem for Des Cartes, and conſidered his principles as the bulwark of orthodoxy, that he appeared in vindication of his darling author, and ſpoke of the injury done him with the utmoſt vehemence, declaring little leſs than that the Carteſian ſyſtem and the Chriſtian muſt inevitably ſtand and fall together, and that to ſay we were ignorant of the principles of things, was not only to enliſt among the Sceptics, but ſink into Atheiſm itſelf.

So far can prejudice darken the underſtanding, as to make it conſider precarious ſyſtems as the chief ſupport of ſacred and unvariable truth.

This treatment of Boerhaave was ſo far reſented by the governors of his univerſity, that they procured from Franeker a recantation of the invective that had been thrown out againſt him; this was not only complied with, but offers were made him of more ample

ſatisfaction;

ſatisfaction; to which he returned an anſwer not leſs to his honour than the victory he gained, "that he "ſhould think himſelf ſufficiently compenſated, if "his adverſary received no farther moleſtation on his "account."

So far was this weak and injudicious attack from ſhaking a reputation not caſually raiſed by faſhion or caprice, but founded upon ſolid merit, that the ſame year his correſpondence was deſired upon Botany and Natural Philoſophy by the Academy of Sciences at Paris, of which he was, upon the death of count Marſigli, in the year 1728, elected a member.

Nor were the French the only nation by which this great man was courted and diſtinguiſhed, for two years after he was elected fellow of our Royal Society.

It cannot be doubted but, thus careſſed and honoured with the higheſt and moſt publick marks of eſteem by other nations, he became more celebrated in the univerſity; for Boerhaave was not one of thoſe learned men, of whom the world has ſeen too many, that diſgrace their ſtudies by their vices, and by unaccountable weakneſſes make themſelves ridiculous at home, while their writings procure them the veneration of diſtant countries, where their learning is known, but not their follies.

Not that his countrymen can be charged with being inſenſible of his excellencies till other nations taught them to admire him; for in 1718 he was choſen to ſucceed Le Mort in the profeſſorſhip of chemiſtry; on which occaſion he pronounced an oration "De Chemia errores ſuos expurgante," in which

which he treated that ſcience with an elegance of ſtyle not often to be found in chemical writers, who ſeem generally to have affected not only a barbarous, but unintelligible phraſe, and to have, like the Pythagoreans of old, wrapt up their ſecrets in ſymbols and ænigmatical expreſſions, either becauſe they believed that mankind would reverence moſt what they leaſt underſtood, or becauſe they wrote not from benevolence but vanity, and were deſirous to be praiſed for their knowledge, though they could not prevail upon themſelves to communicate it.

In 1722, his courſe both of lectures and practice was interrupted by the gout, which, as he relates it in his ſpeech after his recovery, he brought upon himſelf, by an imprudent confidence in the ſtrength of his own conſtitution, and by tranſgreſſing thoſe rules which he had a thouſand times inculcated to his pupils and acquaintance. Riſing in the morning before day, he went immediately, hot and ſweating, from his bed into the open air, and expoſed himſelf to the cold dews.

The hiſtory of his illneſs can hardly be read without horror: he was for five months confined to his bed, where he lay upon his back without daring to attempt the leaſt motion, becauſe any effort renewed his torments, which were ſo exquiſite, that he was at length not only deprived of motion but of ſenſe. Here art was at a ſtand, nothing could be attempted, becauſe nothing could be propoſed with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. At length having, in the ſixth month of his illneſs, obtained ſome remiſſion, he took

ſimple

ſimple medicines * in large quantities, and at length wonderfully recovered.

His recovery, ſo much deſired, and ſo unexpected, was celebrated on Jan. 11, 1723, when he opened his ſchool again with general joy and publick illuminations.

It would be an injury to the memory of Boerhaave not to mention what was related by himſelf to one of his friends, that when he lay whole days and nights without ſleep, he found no method of diverting his thoughts ſo effectual as meditation upon his ſtudies, and that he often relieved and mitigated the ſenſe of his torments by the recollection of what he had read, and by reviewing thoſe ſtores of knowledge which he had repoſited in his memory.

This is perhaps an inſtance of fortitude and ſteady compoſure of mind, which would have been for ever the boaſt of the Stoick ſchools, and increaſed the reputation of Seneca or Cato. The patience of Boerhaave, as it was more rational, was more laſting than theirs; it was that *patientia Chriſtiana* which Lipſius, the great maſter of the Stoical Philoſophy, begged of God in his laſt hours; it was founded on religion, not vanity, not on vain reaſonings, but on confidence in God.

In 1727 he was ſeized with a violent burning fever, which continued ſo long that he was once more given up by his friends.

* "Succos preſſos bibit Noſter herbarum Cichoreæ, Endiviæ, Fumariæ, Naſturtii aquatici, Veronicæ aquaticæ latifoliæ, copia ingenti; ſimul deglutiens abundantiſſimè gummi ferulacea Aſiatica." *Orig. Edit.*

From

From this time he was frequently afflicted with returns of his diſtemper, which yet did not ſo far ſubdue him, as to make him lay aſide his ſtudies or his lectures, till in 1726 he found himſelf ſo worn out that it was improper for him to continue any longer the profeſſorſhips of botany and chemiſtry, which he therefore reſigned April 28, and upon his reſignation ſpoke a "Sermo Academicus," or oration, in which he aſſerts the power and wiſdom of the Creator from the wonderful fabrick of the human body; and confutes all thoſe idle reaſoners, who pretend to explain the formation of parts, or the animal operations, to which he proves that Art can produce nothing equal, nor any thing parallel. One inſtance I ſhall mention, which is produced by him, of the vanity of any attempt to rival the work of God. Nothing is more boaſted by the admirers of chemiſtry, than that they can, by artificial heats and digeſtion, imitate the productions of Nature. "Let all theſe heroes of ſcience meet together," ſays Boerhaave; "let them take bread and wine, the food that forms the blood of man, and by aſſimilation contributes to the growth of the body: let them try all their arts, they ſhall not be able from theſe materials to produce a ſingle drop of blood. So much is the moſt common act of Nature beyond the utmoſt efforts of the moſt extended Science!"

From this time Boerhaave lived with leſs publick employment indeed, but not an idle or an uſeleſs life; for, beſides his hours ſpent in inſtructing his ſcholars, a great part of his time was taken up by patients which came, when the diſtemper would admit

it, from all parts of Europe to consult him, or by letters which, in more urgent cases, were continually sent, to enquire his opinion, and ask his advice.

Of his sagacity, and the wonderful penetration with which he often discovered and described, at the first sight of a patient, such distempers as betray themselves by no symptoms to common eyes, such wonderful relations have been spread over the world, as, though attested beyond doubt, can scarcely be credited. I mention none of them, because I have no opportunity of collecting testimonies, or distinguishing between those accounts which are well proved, and those which owe their rise to fiction and credulity.

Yet I cannot but implore, with the greatest earnestness, such as have been conversant with this great man, that they will not so far neglect the common interest of mankind, as to suffer any of these circumstances to be lost to posterity. Men are generally idle, and ready to satisfy themselves, and intimidate the industry of others, by calling that impossible which is only difficult. The skill to which Boerhaave attained, by a long and unwearied observation of nature, ought therefore to be transmitted in all its particulars to future ages, that his successors may be ashamed to fall below him, and that none may hereafter excuse his ignorance by pleading the impossibility of clearer knowledge.

Yet so far was this great master from presumptuous confidence in his abilities, that, in his examinations of the sick, he was remarkably circumstantial and particular. He well knew that the originals of distempers are often at a distance from their visible

effects;

effects; that to conjecture, where certainty may be obtained, is either vanity or negligence; and that life is not to be sacrificed, either to an affectation of quick discernment, or of crowded practice, but may be required, if trifled away, at the hand of the physician.

About the middle of the year 1737, he felt the first approaches of that fatal illness that brought him to the grave, of which we have inserted an account, written by himself Sept. 8, 1738, to a friend at London *; which deserves not only to be preserved as an historical relation of the disease which deprived us of so great a man, but as a proof of his piety and resignation to the divine will.

In this last illness, which was to the last degree lingering, painful, and afflictive, his constancy and firmness did not forsake him. He neither intermitted the necessary cares of life, nor forgot the proper preparations for death. Though dejection and lowness of spirit was, as he himself tells us, part of his distemper, yet even this, in some measure, gave way

* "Ætas, labor, corporisque opima pinguetudo, effecerant, ante annum, ut inertibus refertum, grave, hebes, plenitudine turgens corpus, anhelum ad motus minimos, cum sensu suffocationis, pulsu mirificè anomalo, ineptum evaderet ad ullum motum. Urgebat præcipuè subsistens prorsus & intercepta respiratio ad prima somni initia: unde somnus prorsus prohibebatur, cum formidabili strangulationis molestia. Hinc hydrops pedum, crurum, femorum, scroti, præputii, & abdominis. Quæ tamen omnia sublata. Sed dolor manet in abdomine, cum anxietate summa, anhelitu suffocante, & debilitate incredibili: somno pauco, eoque vago, per somnia turbatissimo: animus vero rebus agendis impar. Cum his luctor fessus nec emergo: patienter expectans Dei jussa, quibus resigno data, quæ sola amo, & honoro unicè." *Orig. Edit.*

to

to that vigour which the ſoul receives from a conſciouſneſs of innocence.

About three weeks before his death he received a viſit at his country houſe from the Rev. Mr. Schultens, his intimate friend, who found him ſitting without-door, with his wife, ſiſter, and daughter: after the compliments of form, the ladies withdrew, and left them to private converſation; when Boerhaave took occaſion to tell him what had been, during his illneſs, the chief ſubject of his thoughts. He had never doubted of the ſpiritual and immaterial nature of the ſoul; but declared that he had lately had a kind of experimental certainty of the diſtinction between corporeal and thinking ſubſtances, which mere reaſon and philoſophy cannot afford, and opportunities of contemplating the wonderful and inexplicable union of ſoul and body, which nothing but long ſickneſs can give. This he illuſtrated by a deſcription of the effects which the infirmities of his body had upon his faculties, which yet they did not ſo oppreſs or vanquiſh, but his ſoul was always maſter of itſelf, and always reſigned to the pleaſure of its Maker.

He related with great concern, that once his patience ſo far gave way to extremity of pain, that, after having lain fifteen hours in exquiſite tortures, he prayed to God that he might be ſet free by death.

Mr. Schultens, by way of conſolation, anſwered, that he thought ſuch wiſhes, when forced by continued and exceſſive torments, unavoidable in the preſent ſtate of human nature; that the beſt men, even Job himſelf, were not able to refrain from ſuch ſtarts of impatience. This he did not deny; but ſaid, "He that loves God, ought to think nothing deſir-

 able

able but what is moſt pleaſing to the ſupreme goodneſs."

Such were his ſentiments, and ſuch his conduct, in this ſtate of weakneſs and pain: as death approached nearer, he was ſo far from terror or confuſion, that he ſeemed even leſs ſenſible of pain, and more cheerful under his torments, which continued till the 23d day of September 1738, on which he died, between four and five in the morning, in the 70th year of his age.

Thus died Boerhaave, a man formed by nature for great deſigns, and guided by religion in the exertion of his abilities. He was of a robuſt and athletic conſtitution of body, ſo hardened by early ſeverities, and wholeſome fatigue, that he was inſenſible of any ſharpneſs of air, or inclemency of weather. He was tall, and remarkable for extraordinary ſtrength. There was in his air and motion ſomething rough and artleſs, but ſo majeſtick and great at the ſame time, that no man ever looked upon him without veneration, and a kind of tacit ſubmiſſion to the ſuperiority of his genius.

The vigour and activity of his mind ſparkled viſibly in his eyes; nor was it ever obſerved, that any change of his fortune, or alteration in his affairs, whether happy or unfortunate, affected his countenance.

He was always cheerful, and deſirous of promoting mirth by a facetious and humorous converſation; he was never ſoured by calumny and detraction, nor ever thought it neceſſary to confute them; "for they are ſparks," ſaid he, "which if you do not blow them, will go out of themſelves."

Yet

Yet he took care never to provoke enemies by ſeverity of cenſure, for he never dwelt on the faults or defects of others, and was ſo far from inflaming the envy of his rivals by dwelling on his own excellencies, that he rarely mentioned himſelf or his writings.

He was not to be overawed or depreſſed by the preſence, frowns, or inſolence of great men, but perſiſted on all occaſions in the right, with a reſolution always preſent and always calm. He was modeſt, but not timorous, and firm without rudeneſs.

He could, with uncommon readineſs and certainty, make a conjecture of men's inclinations and capacity by their aſpect.

His method of life was to ſtudy in the morning and evening, and to allot the middle of the day to his publick buſineſs. His uſual exerciſe was riding, till, in his latter years, his diſtempers made it more proper for him to walk: when he was weary, he amuſed himſelf with playing on the violin.

His greateſt pleaſure was to retire to his houſe in the country, where he had a garden ſtored with all the herbs and trees which the climate would bear; here he uſed to enjoy his hours unmoleſted, and proſecute his ſtudies without interruption.

The diligence with which he purſued his ſtudies, is ſufficiently evident from his ſucceſs. Stateſmen and generals may grow great by unexpected accidents, and a fortunate concurrence of circumſtances, neither procured nor foreſeen by themſelves: but reputation in the learned world muſt be the effect of induſtry and capacity. Boerhaave loſt none of his hours, but, when he had attended one ſcience, attempted another: he added phyſick to divinity, chemiſtry to the

mathematicks, and anatomy to botany. He examined ſyſtems by experiments, and formed experiments into ſyſtems. He neither neglected the obſervations of others, nor blindly ſubmitted to celebrated names. He neither thought ſo highly of himſelf as to imagine he could receive no light from books, nor ſo meanly as to believe he could diſcover nothing but what was to be learned from them. He examined the obſervations of other men, but truſted only to his own.

Nor was he unacquainted with the art of recommending truth by elegance, and embelliſhing the philoſopher with polite literature: he knew that but a ſmall part of mankind will ſacrifice their pleaſure to their improvement, and thoſe authors who would find many readers, muſt endeavour to pleaſe while they inſtruct.

He knew the importance of his own writings to mankind, and leſt he might by a roughneſs and barbarity of ſtyle, too frequent among men of great learning, diſappoint his own intentions, and make his labours leſs uſeful, he did not neglect the politer arts of eloquence and poetry. Thus was his learning at once various and exact, profound and agreeable.

But his knowledge, however uncommon, holds, in his character, but the ſecond place; his virtue was yet much more uncommon than his learning. He was an admirable example of temperance, fortitude, humility, and devotion. His piety, and a religious ſenſe of his dependance on God, was the baſis of all his virtues, and the principle of his whole conduct. He was too ſenſible of his weakneſs to aſcribe any thing to himſelf, or to conceive that he could ſubdue

paſſion,

paſſion, or withſtand temptation, by his own natural power; he attributed every good thought, and every laudable action, to the Father of goodneſs. Being once aſked by a friend, who had often admired his patience under great provocations, whether he knew what it was to be angry, and by what means he had ſo entirely ſuppreſſed that impetuous and ungovernable paſſion? he anſwered, with the utmoſt frankneſs and ſincerity, that he was naturally quick of reſentment, but that he had, by daily prayer and meditation, at length attained to this maſtery over himſelf.

As ſoon as he roſe in the morning, it was, throughout his whole life, his daily practice to retire for an hour to private prayer and meditation; this, he often told his friends, gave him ſpirit and vigour in the buſineſs of the day, and this he therefore commended as the beſt rule of life; for nothing, he knew, could ſupport the ſoul in all diſtreſſes but a confidence in a Supreme Being, nor can a ſteady and rational magnanimity flow from any other ſource than a conſciouſneſs of the divine favour.

He aſſerted on all occaſions the divine authority, and ſacred efficacy of the holy ſcriptures; and maintained that they alone taught the way of ſalvation, and that they only could give peace of mind. The excellency of the Chriſtian religion was the frequent ſubject of his converſation. A ſtrict obedience to the doctrine, and a diligent imitation of the example of our Bleſſed Saviour, he often declared to be the foundation of true tranquillity. He recommended to his friends a careful obſervation of the precept of Moſes concerning the love of God and man. He

worſhipped God as he is in himſelf, without attempting to enquire into his nature. He deſired only to think of God, what God knows of himſelf. There he ſtopped, leſt, by indulging his own ideas, he ſhould form a Deity from his own imagination, and ſin by falling down before him. To the will of God he paid an abſolute ſubmiſſion, without endeavouring to diſcover the reaſon of his determinations; and this he accounted the firſt and moſt inviolable duty of a Chriſtian. When he heard of a criminal condemned to die, he uſed to think, who can tell whether this man is not better than I? or, if I am better, it is not to be aſcribed to myſelf, but to the goodneſs of God.

Such were the ſentiments of Boerhaave, whoſe words we have added in the note *. So far was this man from being made impious by philoſophy, or vain by knowledge, or by virtue, that he aſcribed all his abilities to the bounty, and all his goodneſs to the

* "Doctrinam ſacris literis Hebraicè & Græcè traditam, ſolam animæ ſalutarem & agnovit & ſenſit. Omni opportunitate profitebatur diſciplinam, quam Jeſus Chriſtus ore & vita expreſſit, unicè tranquillitatem dare menti. Semperque dixit amicis, pacem animi haud reperiundam niſi in magno Moſis præcepto de ſincero amore Dei & hominis bene obſervato. Neque extra ſacra monumenta uſpiam inveniri, quod mentem ſerenet. Deum pius adoravit, qui eſt. Intelligere de Deo, unicè volebat id, quod Deus de ſe intelligit. Eo contentus ultra nihil requiſivit, ne idololatria erraret. In voluntate Dei ſic requieſcebat, ut illius nullam omnino rationem indagandam putaret. Hanc unicè ſupremam omnium legem eſſe contendebat; deliberata conſtantia perfectiſſimè colendam. De aliis & ſeipſo ſentiebat: ut quoties criminis reos ad poenas letales damnatos audiret, ſemper cogitaret, ſæpe diceret; "Quis dixerat annon me ſint meliores? Utique, ſi ipſe melior, id "non mihi auctori tribuendum eſſe palam aio, confiteor; ſed ita "largienti Deo." *Orig. Edit.*

grace

grace of God. May his example extend its influence to his admirers and followers! May those who study his writings imitate his life! and those who endeavour after his knowledge aspire likewise to his piety!

He married, September 17, 1710, Mary Drolenveaux, the only daughter of a burgo-master of Leyden, by whom he had Joanna Maria, who survives her father, and three other children who died in their infancy.

The works of this great writer are so generally known, and so highly esteemed, that, though it may not be improper to enumerate them in the order of time in which they were published, it is wholly unnecessary to give any other account of them.

He published in 1707, "Institutiones Medicæ," to which he added in 1708, "Aphorismi de cogno-"scendis & curandis morbis."

1710 "Index stirpium in horto academico."

1719, "De materia medica, & remediorum for-"mulis liber;" and in 1727 a second edition.

1720, "Alter index stirpium," &c. adorned with plates, and containing twice the number of plants as the former.

1722, "Epistola ad cl. Ruischium, quâ sententiam "Malpighianam de glandulis defendit."

1724, "Atrocis nec prius descripti morbi historia "illustrissimi baronis Wassenariæ."

1725, "Opera anatomica & chirurgica Andreæ "Vesalii," with the life of Vesalius.

1728, "Altera atrocis rarissimique morbi marchi-"onis de Sancto Albano historia."

"Auctores de lue Aphrodisiaca, cum tractatu "præfixo."

1731, "Aretaei Cappadocis nova editio."

1732, "Elementa chemiæ."

1734, "Obſervata de argento vivo, ad reg. ſoc. & "acad. ſcient."

Theſe are the writings of the great Boerhaave, which have made all encomiums uſeleſs and vain, ſince no man can attentively peruſe them without admiring the abilities, and reverencing the virtue of the author *.

* Gent. Mag. 1739. p. 176.

B L A K E.

AT a time when a nation is engaged in a war with an enemy, whose insults, ravages, and barbarities, have long called for vengeance, an account of such English commanders as have merited the acknowledgments of posterity, by extending the power, and raising the honour of their country, seems to be no improper entertainment for our readers*. We shall therefore attempt a succinct narration of the life and actions of admiral Blake, in which we have nothing farther in view than to do justice to his bravery and conduct, without intending any parallel between his atchievements and those of our present admirals.

ROBERT BLAKE was born at Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, in August 1598, his father being a merchant of that place, who had acquired a considerable fortune by the Spanish trade. Of his earliest years we have no account, and therefore can amuse the reader with none of those prognosticks of his future actions, so often met with in memoirs.

In 1615 he entered into the university of Oxford, where he continued till 1623, though without being

* This Life was first printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1740.

much

much countenanced or careffed by his fuperiors, for he was more than once difappointed in his endeavours after academical preferments. It is obfervable that Mr. Wood (in his Athenæ Oxonienfes) afcribes the repulfe he met with at Wadham College, where he was competitor for a fellowfhip, either to want of learning, or of ftature. With regard to the firft objection, the fame writer had before informed us, that he was an *early rifer* and *ftudious*, though he fometimes relieved his attention by the amufements of fowling and fifhing. As it is highly probable that he did not want capacity, we may therefore conclude, upon this confeffion of his diligence, that he could not fail of being learned, at leaft in the degree requifite to the enjoyment of a fellowfhip; and may fafely afcribe his difappointment to his want of ftature, it being the cuftom of Sir Henry Savil, then warden of that college, to pay much regard to the outward appearance of thofe who folicited preferment in that fociety. So much do the greateft events owe fometimes to accident or folly!

He afterwards retired to his native place where "he lived," fays Clarendon, "without any appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was, but inveighed with great freedom againft the licence of the times, and power of the court."

In 1640 he was chofen burgefs for Bridgewater by the Puritan party, to whom he had recommended himfelf by the difapprobation of bifhop Laud's violence and feverity, and his non-compliance with thofe new ceremonies which he was then endeavouring to introduce.

When the civil war broke out, Blake, in conformity with his avowed principles, declared for the par

liament;

liament; and, thinking a bare declaration for right not all the duty of a good man, raiſed a troop of dragoons for his party, and appeared in the field with ſo much bravery, that he was in a ſhort time advanced, without meeting any of thoſe obſtructions which he had encountered in the univerſity.

In 1645 he was governor of Taunton, when the Lord Goring came before it with an army of 10,000 men. The town was ill fortified, and unſupplied with almoſt every thing neceſſary for ſupporting a ſiege. The ſtate of this garriſon encouraged Colonel Windham, who was acquainted with Blake, to propoſe a capitulation; which was rejected by Blake with indignation and contempt: nor were either menaces or perſuaſions of any effect, for he maintained the place under all its diſadvantages, till the ſiege was raiſed by the parliament's army.

He continued, on many other occaſions, to give proofs of an inſuperable courage, and a ſteadineſs of reſolution not to be ſhaken; and, as a proof of his firm adherence to the parliament, joined with the borough of Taunton in returning thanks for their reſolution to make no more addreſſes to the king. Yet was he ſo far from approving the death of Charles I. that he made no ſcruple of declaring, that he would venture his life to ſave him, as willingly as he had done to ſerve the parliament.

In February 1648-9, he was made a commiſſioner of the navy, and appointed to ſerve on that element, for which he ſeems by nature to have been deſigned. He was ſoon afterwards ſent in purſuit of prince Rupert, whom he ſhut up in the harbour of Kingſale in Ireland for ſeveral months, till want of proviſions and

and despair of relief, excited the prince to make a daring effort for his escape, by forcing through the parliament's fleet: this design he executed with his usual intrepidity, and succeeded in it, though with the loss of three ships. He was pursued by Blake to the coast of Portugal where he was received into the Tagus, and treated with great distinction by the Portuguese.

Blake, coming to the mouth of that river, sent to the king a messenger, to inform him, that the fleet in his port belonging to the publick enemies of the commonwealth of England, he demanded leave to fall upon it. This being refused, though the refusal was in very soft terms, and accompanied with declarations of esteem, and a present of provisions, so exasperated the admiral, that, without any hesitation, he fell upon the Portuguese fleet, then returning from Brasil, of which he took seventeen ships, and burnt three. It was to no purpose that the king of Portugal, alarmed at so unexpected a destruction, ordered prince Rupert to attack him, and retake the Brasil ships. Blake carried home his prizes without molestation, the prince not having force enough to pursue him, and well pleased with the opportunity of quitting a port where he could no longer be protected.

Blake soon supplied his fleet with provision, and received orders to make reprisals upon the French who had suffered their privateers to molest the English trade; an injury which, in those days, was always immediately resented, and if not repaired, certainly punished. Sailing with this commission, he took in his way a French man of war valued at a

million.

million. How this ſhip happened to be ſo rich, we are not informed; but as it was a cruiſer, it is probable the rich lading was the accumulated plunder of many prizes. Then following the unfortunate Rupert, whoſe fleet by ſtorms and battles was now reduced to five ſhips, into Carthagena, he demanded leave of the Spaniſh governor to attack him in the harbour, but received the ſame anſwer which had been returned before by the Portugueſe: "That they had a right to protect all ſhips that "came into their dominions; that if the admiral "were forced in thither, he ſhould find the ſame ſe-"curity; and that he required him not to violate the "peace of a neutral port." Blake withdrew upon this anſwer into the Mediterranean; and Rupert then leaving Carthagena entered the port of Malaga, where he burnt and ſunk ſeveral Engliſh merchant ſhips. Blake, judging this to be an infringement of the neutrality profeſſed by the Spaniards, now made no ſcruple to fall upon Rupert's fleet in the harbour of Malaga, and having deſtroyed three of his ſhips, obliged him to quit the ſea, and take ſanctuary at the Spaniſh court.

In February 1650-1, Blake, ſtill continuing to cruiſe in the Mediterranean, met a French ſhip of conſiderable force, and commanded the captain to come on board, there being no war declared between the two nations. The captain, when he came, was aſked by him, whether "he was willing to lay down "his ſword, and yield;" which he gallantly refuſed, though in his enemy's power. Blake, ſcorning to take advantage of an artifice, and deteſting the appearance of treachery, told him, "that he was at

" liberty to go back to his ſhip, and defend it as " long as he could." The captain willingly accepted his offer, and after a fight of two hours confeſſed himſelf conquered, kiſſed his ſword, and ſurrendered it.

In 1652 broke out the memorable war between the two commonwealths of England and Holland; a war, in which the greateſt admirals, that perhaps any age has produced, were engaged on each ſide, in which nothing leſs was conteſted than the dominion of the ſea, and which was carried on with vigour, animoſity, and reſolution, proportioned to the importance of the diſpute. The chief commanders of the Dutch fleets were Van Trump, De Ruyter, and De Witt, the moſt celebrated names of their own nation, and who had been perhaps more renowned, had they been oppoſed by any other enemies. The States of Holland, having carried on their trade with out oppoſition, and almoſt without competition, not only during the unactive reign of James I. but during the commotions of England, had arrived to that height of naval power, and that affluence of wealth, that, with the arrogance which a long continued proſperity naturally produces, they began to invent new claims, and to treat other nations with inſolence, which nothing can defend but ſuperiority of force. They had for ſome time made uncommon preparations at a vaſt expence, and had equipped a large fleet, without any apparent danger threatening them, or any avowed deſign of attacking their neighbours. This unuſual armament was not beheld by the Engliſh without ſome jealouſy, and care was taken to fit out ſuch a fleet as might ſecure the

the trade from interruption, and the coaſts from inſults; of this Blake was conſtituted admiral for nine months. In this ſituation the two nations remained, keeping a watchful eye upon each other, without acting hoſtilities on either ſide, till the 18th of May 1652, when Van Trump appeared in the Downs with a fleet of forty-five men of War. Blake, who had then but twenty ſhips, upon the approach of the Dutch admiral ſaluted him with three ſingle ſhots, to require that he ſhould, by ſtriking his flag, ſhew that reſpect to the Engliſh, which is due to every nation in their own dominions; to which the Dutchman anſwered with a broadſide; and Blake, perceiving that he intended to diſpute the point of honour, advanced with his own ſhips before the reſt of his fleet, that, if it were poſſible, a general battle might be prevented. But the Dutch, inſtead of admitting him to treat, fired upon him from their whole fleet, without any regard to the cuſtoms of war, or the law of nations. Blake for ſome time ſtood alone againſt their whole force, till the reſt of his ſquadron coming up, the fight was continued from between four and five in the afternoon till nine at night, when the Dutch retired with the loſs of two ſhips, having not deſtroyed a ſingle veſſel, nor more than fifteen men, moſt of which were on board the admiral, who, as he wrote to the parliament, was himſelf engaged for four hours with the main body of the Dutch fleet, being the mark at which they aimed; and, as Whitlock relates, received above a thouſand ſhot. Blake, in his letter, acknowledges the particular bleſſing and preſervation of God, and aſcribes his ſucceſs to the juſtice of the cauſe, the Dutch having firſt attacked him

him upon the Engliſh coaſt. It is indeed little leſs than miraculous that a thouſand great ſhot ſhould not do more execution; and thoſe who will not admit the interpoſition of Providence, may draw at leaſt this inference from it, that *the braveſt man is not always in the greateſt danger*.

In July he met the Dutch fiſhery fleet with a convoy of twelve men of war, all which he took, with 100 of their herring-buſſes. And in September, being ſtationed in the Downs with about ſixty ſail, he diſcovered the Dutch admirals De Witt and De Ruyter with near the ſame number, and advanced towards them; but the Dutch being obliged, by the nature of their coaſt, and ſhallowneſs of their rivers, to build their ſhips in ſuch a manner that they require leſs depth of water than the Engliſh veſſels, took advantage of the form of their ſhipping, and ſheltered themſelves behind a flat, called *Kentiſh knock*; ſo that the Engliſh, finding ſome of their ſhips aground, were obliged to alter their courſe; but perceiving early the next morning that the Hollanders had forſaken their ſtation, they purſued them with all the ſpeed that the wind, which was weak and uncertain, allowed, but found themſelves unable to reach them with the bulk of their fleet, and therefore detached ſome of the lighteſt frigates to chace them. Theſe came ſo near as to fire upon them about three in the afternoon; but the Dutch, inſtead of tacking about, hoiſted their ſails, ſteered toward their own coaſt, and finding themſelves the next day followed by the whole Engliſh fleet, retired into Goree. The ſailors were eager to attack them in their own harbours; but a council of war being convened, it was judged impru-

dent

dent to hazard the fleet upon the ſhoals, or to engage in any important enterprize without a freſh ſupply of proviſions.

That in this engagement the victory belonged to the Engliſh is beyond diſpute, ſince, without the loſs of one ſhip, and with no more than forty men killed, they drove the enemy into his own ports, took the rear admiral and another veſſel, and ſo diſcouraged the Dutch admirals, who had not agreed in their meaſures, that De Ruyter, who had declared againſt hazarding a battle, deſired to reſign his commiſſion, and De Witt, who had inſiſted upon fighting, fell ſick, as it was ſuppoſed, with vexation. But how great the loſs of the Dutch was, is not certainly known; that two ſhips were taken they are too wiſe to deny, but affirm that thoſe two were all that were deſtroyed. The Engliſh, on the other ſide, affirm that three of their veſſels were diſabled at the firſt encounter, that their numbers on the ſecond day were viſibly diminiſhed, and that on the laſt day they ſaw three or four ſhips ſink in their flight.

De Witt being now diſcharged by the Hollanders as unfortunate, and the chief command reſtored to Van Trump, great preparations were made for retrieving their reputation, and repairing their loſſes. Their endeavours were aſſiſted by the Engliſh themſelves, now made factious by ſucceſs; the men who were intruſted with the civil adminiſtration being jealous of thoſe whoſe military commands had procured ſo much honour, leſt they who raiſed them ſhould be eclipſed by them. Such is generally the revolution of affairs in every ſtate; danger and diſtreſs produce

unanimity and bravery, virtues which are ſeldom unattended with ſucceſs; but ſucceſs is the parent of pride, and pride of jealouſy and faction; faction makes way for calamity, and happy is that nation whoſe calamities renew their unanimity. Such is the rotation of intereſts, that equally tend to hinder the total deſtruction of a people, and to obſtruct an exorbitant increaſe of power.

Blake had weakened his fleet by many detachments, and lay with no more than forty ſail in the Downs, very ill provided both with men and ammunition, and expecting new ſupplies from thoſe whoſe animoſity hindered them from providing them, and who choſe rather to ſee the trade of their country diſtreſſed, than the ſea-officers exalted by a new acquiſition of honour and influence.

Van Trump, deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf at the reſumption of his command by ſome remarkable action, had aſſembled eighty ſhips of war, and ten fireſhips, and ſteered towards the Downs, where Blake, with whoſe condition and ſtrength he was probably acquainted, was then ſtationed. Blake, not able to reſtrain his natural ardour, or perhaps not fully informed of the ſuperiority of his enemies, put out to encounter them, though his fleet was ſo weakly manned, that half of his ſhips were obliged to lie idle without engaging, for want of ſailors. The force of the whole Dutch fleet was therefore ſuſtained by about twenty-two ſhips. Two of the Engliſh frigates, named the Vanguard and the Victory, after having for a long time ſtood engaged amidſt the whole Dutch fleet, broke through without much injury, nor did the Engliſh loſe any ſhips till

till the evening, when the Garland, carrying forty guns, was boarded at once by two great ſhips, which were oppoſed by the Engliſh till they had ſcarcely any men left to defend the decks; then retiring into the lower part of the veſſel, they blew up their decks, which were now poſſeſſed by the enemy, and at length were overpowered and taken. The Bonaventure, a ſtout well-built merchant-ſhip, going to relieve the Garland, was attacked by a man of war, and, after a ſtout reſiſtance, in which the captain, who defended her with the utmoſt bravery, was killed, was likewiſe carried off by the Dutch. Blake, in the Triumph, ſeeing the Garland in diſtreſs, preſſed forward to relieve her, but in his way had his foremaſt ſhattered, and was himſelf boarded; but beating off the enemies, he diſengaged himſelf, and retired into the Thames with the loſs only of two ſhips of force, and four ſmall frigates, but with his whole fleet much ſhattered. Nor was the victory gained at a cheap rate, notwithſtanding the unuſual diſproportion of ſtrength; for of the Dutch flag-ſhips one was blown up, and the other two diſabled; a proof of the Engliſh bravery, which ſhould have induced Van Trump to have ſpared the inſolence of carrying a broom at his top-maſt in his triumphant paſſage through the channel, which he intended as a declaration that he would ſweep the ſeas of the Engliſh ſhipping; this, which he had little reaſon to think of accompliſhing, he ſoon after periſhed in attempting.

There are ſometimes obſervations and enquiries, which all hiſtorians ſeem to decline by agreement, of which this action may afford us an example: nothing

appears at the firſt view more to demand our curioſity, or afford matter for examination, than this wild encounter of twenty-two ſhips with a force, according to their accounts who favour the Dutch, three times ſuperior. Nothing can juſtify a commander in fighting under ſuch diſadvantages, but the impoſſibility of retreating. But what hindered Blake from retiring as well before the fight as after it? To ſay he was ignorant of the ſtrength of the Dutch fleet, is to impute to him a very criminal degree of negligence; and, at leaſt, it muſt be confeſſed that, from the time he ſaw them, he could not but know that they were too powerful to be oppoſed by him, and even then there was time for retreat. To urge the ardour of his ſailors, is to diveſt him of the authority of a commander, and to charge him with the moſt reproachful weakneſs that can enter into the character of a general. To mention the impetuoſity of his own courage, is to make the blame of his temerity equal to the praiſe of his valour; which ſeems indeed to be the moſt gentle cenſure that the truth of hiſtory will allow. We muſt then admit, amidſt our eulogies and applauſes, that the great, the wiſe, and the valiant Blake was once betrayed to an inconſiderate and deſperate enterprize, by the reſiſtleſs ardour of his own ſpirit, and a noble jealouſy of the honour of his country.

It was not long before he had an opportunity of revenging his loſs, and reſtraining the inſolence of the Dutch. On the 18th of February 1652-3, Blake being at the head of eighty ſail, and aſſiſted, at his own requeſt, by colonels Monk and Dean, eſpied Van Trump with a fleet of above 100 men of war

as Clarendon relates, of 70 by their own publick accounts, and 300 merchant-ſhips under his convoy. The Engliſh, with their uſual intrepidity, advanced towards them; and Blake in the Triumph, in which he always led his fleet, with twelve ſhips more, came to an engagement with the main body of the Dutch fleet, and by the diſparity of their force was reduced to the laſt extremity, having received in his hull no fewer then 700 ſhots, when Lawſon in the Fairfax came to his aſſiſtance. The reſt of the Engliſh fleet now came in, and the fight was continued with the utmoſt degree of vigour and reſolution, till the night gave the Dutch an opportunity of retiring, with the loſs of one flag-ſhip, and ſix other men of war. The Engliſh had many veſſels damaged, but none loſt. On board Lawſon's ſhip were killed 100 men, and as many on board Blake's, who loſt his captain and ſecretary, and himſelf received a wound in the thigh.

Blake having ſet aſhore his wounded men, ſailed in purſuit of Van Trump, who ſent his convoy before, and himſelf retired fighting towards Bulloign. Blake ordered his light frigates to follow the merchants, ſtill continued to haraſs Van Trump, and on the third day, the 20th of February, the two fleets came to another battle, in which Van Trump once more retired before the Engliſh, and making uſe of the peculiar form of his ſhipping, ſecured himſelf in the ſhoals. The accounts of this fight, as of all the others, are various; but the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs that they loſt eight men of war, and more than twenty merchant-ſhips; and it is probable that they ſuffered much more than

they are willing to allow, for theſe repeated defeats provoked the common people to riots and inſurrections, and obliged the States to aſk, though ineffectually, for peace.

In April following the form of government in England was changed, and the ſupreme authority aſſumed by Cromwell; upon which occaſion Blake, with his aſſociates, declared that, notwithſtanding the change in the adminiſtration, they ſhould ſtill be ready to diſcharge their truſt, and to defend the nation from inſults, injuries, and encroachments. "It "is not," ſays Blake, "the buſineſs of a ſeaman to "mind ſtate affairs, but to hinder foreigners from "fooling us." This was the principle from which he never deviated, and which he always endeavoured to inculcate in the fleet, as the ſureſt foundation of unanimity and ſteadineſs. "Diſturb not "one another with domeſtic diſputes, but remember "that we are Engliſh, and our enemies are foreigners. "Enemies! which, let what party ſoever prevail, it "is equally the intereſt of our country to humble "and reſtrain."

After the 30th of April 1653, Blake, Monk, and Dean, ſailed out of the Engliſh harbours with 100 men of war, and, finding the Dutch with ſeventy ſail on their own coaſts, drove them to the Texel, and took fifty doggers. Then they ſailed northward in purſuit of Van Trump, who, having a fleet of merchants under his convoy, durſt not enter the channel, but ſteered towards the Sound, and by great dexterity and addreſs eſcaped the three Engliſh admirals, and brought all his ſhips into their harbour; then,

knowing

knowing that Blake was ſtill in the North, came before Dover, and fired upon that town, but was driven off by the caſtle.

Monk and Dean ſtationed themſelves again at the mouth of the Texel, and blocked up the Dutch in their own ports with eighty ſail; but hearing that Van Trump was at Goree with 120 men of war, they ordered all ſhips of force in the river and ports to repair to them.

On June 3d, the two fleets came to an engagement, in the beginning of which Dean was carried off by a cannon ball; yet the fight continued from about twelve to ſix in the afternoon, when the Dutch gave way, and retreated fighting.

On the 4th, in the afternoon, Blake came up with eighteen freſh ſhips, and procured the Engliſh a complete victory; nor could the Dutch any otherwiſe preſerve their ſhips than by retiring once more into the flats and ſhallows, where the largeſt of the Engliſh veſſels could not approach.

In this battle Van Trump boarded vice-admiral Pen; but was beaten off, and himſelf boarded, and reduced to blow up his decks, of which the Engliſh had gotten poſſeſſion. He was then entered at once by Pen and another; nor could poſſibly have eſcaped, had not De Ruyter and De Witt arrived at that inſtant and reſcued him.

However the Dutch may endeavour to extenuate their loſs in this battle, by admitting no more than eight ſhips to have been taken or deſtroyed, it is evident that they muſt have received much greater damages, not only by the accounts of more impartial hiſtorians, but by the remonſtrances and exclamations

of their admirals themſelves; Van Trump declaring before the States, that "without a numerous reinforcement of large men of war, he could ſerve them no more;" and De Witt crying out before them, with the natural warmth of his character, "Why ſhould I be ſilent before my lords and maſters? The Engliſh are our maſters, and by conſequence maſters of the ſea."

In November 1654, Blake was ſent by Cromwell into the Mediterranean with a powerful fleet, and may be ſaid to have received the homage of all that part of the world, being equally courted by the haughty Spaniards, the ſurly Dutch, and the lawleſs Algerines.

In March 1656, having forced Algiers to ſubmiſſion, he entered the harbour of Tunis, and demanded reparation for the robberies practiſed upon the Engliſh by the pirates of that place, and inſiſted that the captives of his nation ſhould be ſet at liberty. The governor having planted batteries along the ſhore, and drawn up his ſhips under the caſtles, ſent Blake an haughty and inſolent anſwer, "There are our caſtles of Goletta, and Porto Ferino," ſaid he, "upon which you may do your worſt;" adding other menaces and inſults, and mentioning in terms of ridicule the inequality of a fight between ſhips and caſtles. Blake had likewiſe demanded leave to take in water, which was refuſed him. Fired with this inhuman and inſolent treatment, he curled his whiſkers, as was his cuſtom when he was angry, and entering Porto Ferino with his great ſhips, diſcharged his ſhot ſo faſt upon the batteries and caſtles, that in two hours the guns were diſmounted, and the works forſaken,

ſaken, though he was at firſt expoſed to the fire of ſixty cannon. He then ordered his officers to ſend out their long boats well manned to ſeize nine of the piratical ſhips lying in the road, himſelf continuing to fire upon the caſtle. This was ſo bravely executed, that with the loſs of only twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded, all the ſhips were fired in the ſight of Tunis. Thence ſailing to Tripoly, he concluded a peace with that nation; then returning to Tunis, he found nothing but ſubmiſſion. And ſuch indeed was his reputation, that he met with no farther oppoſition, but collected a kind of tribute from the princes of thoſe countries, his buſineſs being to demand reparation for all the injuries offered to the Engliſh during the civil wars. He exacted from the duke of Tuſcany 60,000 *l.* and, as it is ſaid, ſent home ſixteen ſhips laden with the effects, which he had received from ſeveral ſtates.

The reſpect with which he obliged all foreigners to treat his countrymen, appears from a ſtory related by biſhop Burnet. When he lay before Malaga, in a time of peace with Spain, ſome of his ſailors went aſhore, and meeting a proceſſion of the hoſt, not only refuſed to pay any reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe that did. The people, being put by one of the prieſts upon reſenting this indignity, fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhip, they complained of their ill treatment; upon which Blake ſent to demand the prieſt who had procured it. The viceroy anſwered that, having no authority over the prieſts, he could not ſend him: to which Blake replied, "that he did not enquire into "the extent of the viceroy's authority, but that if "the

"the prieſt were not ſent within three hours, he "would burn the town." The viceroy then ſent the prieſt to him, who pleaded the provocation given by the ſeamen. Blake bravely and rationally anſwered, that if he had complained to him, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, for he would not have his men affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place; but that he was angry that the Spaniards ſhould aſſume that power, for he would have all the world know "that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed "by an Engliſhman." So having uſed the prieſt civilly, he ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he was in his power. This conduct ſo much pleaſed Cromwell, that he read the letter in council with great ſatisfaction, and ſaid, "he hoped to make the name "of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman "had been."

In 1656, the Protector having declared war againſt Spain, diſpatched Blake with twenty-five men of war to infeſt their coaſts, and intercept their ſhipping. In purſuance of theſe orders he cruiſed all winter about the Streights, and then lay at the mouth of the harbour of Cales, where he received intelligence that the Spaniſh plate-fleet lay at anchor in the bay of Santa-Cruz, in the iſle of Teneriffe. On the 13th of April 1657, he departed from Cales, and on the 20th arrived at Santo-Cruz, where he found ſixteen Spaniſh veſſels. The bay was defended on the northſide by a caſtle well mounted with cannon, and in other parts with ſeven forts with cannon proportioned to the bigneſs, all united by a line of communication manned with muſqueteers. The Spaniſh admiral drew up his ſmall ſhips under the cannon

of

of the caſtle, and ſtationed ſix great galleons with their broadſides to the ſea: an advantageous and prudent diſpoſition, but of little effect againſt the Engliſh commander; who determining to attack them, ordered Stayner to enter the bay with his ſquadron; then, poſting ſome of his larger ſhips to play upon the fortifications, himſelf attacked the galleons, which, after a gallant reſiſtance, were at length abandoned by the Spaniards, though the leaſt of them was bigger than the biggeſt of Blake's ſhips. The forts and ſmaller veſſels being now ſhattered and forſaken, the whole fleet was ſet on fire, the galleons by Blake, and the ſmalleſt veſſels by Stayner, the Engliſh veſſels being too much ſhattered in the fight to bring them away. Thus was the whole plate-fleet deſtroyed, "and the Spaniards," according to Rapin's remark, "ſuſtained a great loſs of ſhips, money, men, and merchandize, while the Fngliſh gained nothing but glory." As if he that increaſes the military reputation of a people did not increaſe their power, and he that weakens his enemy in effect ſtrengthens himſelf.

"The whole action," ſays Clarendon, "was ſo incredible, that all men, who knew the place, wondered that any ſober man, with what courage ſoever endowed, would ever have undertaken it, and they could hardly perſuade themſelves to believe what they had done: while the Spaniards comforted themſelves with the belief, that they were devils and not men who had deſtroyed them in ſuch a manner. So much a ſtrong reſolution of bold and courageous men can bring to paſs, that no reſiſtance or advantage of ground can diſap-

"point

"point them; and it can hardly be imagined "how ſmall a loſs the Engliſh ſuſtained in this "unparalleled action, not one ſhip being left be-"hind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding "200 men; when the ſlaughter on board the Spa-"niſh ſhips and on ſhore was incredible." The general cruiſed for ſome time afterwards with his victorious fleet at the mouth of Cales, to intercept the Spaniſh ſhipping; but finding his conſtitution broken by the fatigue of the laſt three years, determined to return home, and died before he came to land.

His body was embalmed, and having lain ſome time in ſtate at Greenwich-houſe, was buried in Henry VII's chapel, with all the funeral ſolemnity due to the remains of a man ſo famed for his bravery, and ſo ſpotleſs in his integrity; nor is it without regret that I am obliged to relate the treatment his body met a year after the Reſtoration, when it was taken up by expreſs command, and buried in a pit in St. Margaret's church-yard. Had he been guilty of the murder of Charles I. to inſult his body had been a mean revenge; but as he was innocent, it was, at leaſt, inhumanity, and, perhaps, ingratitude. "Let no man," ſays the oriental proverb, "pull a dead lion by the beard."

But that regard which was denied his body has been paid to his better remains, his name and his memory. Nor has any writer dared to deny him the praiſe of intrepidity, honeſty, contempt of wealth, and love of his country. "He was the firſt man," ſays Clarendon, "that declined the old track, and "made it apparent that the ſciences might be at-

"tained in leſs time than was imagined. He was "the firſt man that brought ſhips to contemn caſtles "on ſhore, which had ever been thought very "formidable, but were diſcovered by him to make "a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely "be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed "that proportion of courage into ſeamen, by mak-"ing them ſee, by experience, what mighty things "they could do if they were reſolved, and taught "them to fight in fire as well as upon the water; and "though he has been very well imitated and follow-"ed, was the firſt that gave the example of that "kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute "atchievements."

To this atteſtation of his military excellence, it may be proper to ſubjoin an account of his moral character from the author of *Lives Engliſh and Foreign*. "He was jealous," ſays that writer, "of "the liberty of the ſubject, and the glory of his "nation; and as he made uſe of no mean artifices "to raiſe himſelf to the higheſt command at ſea, ſo "he needed no intereſt but his merit to ſupport him "in it. He ſcorned nothing more than money, "which, as faſt as it came in, was laid out by him "in the ſervice of the ſtate, and to ſhew that he "was animated by that brave publick ſpirit, which "has ſince been reckoned rather romantick than "heroick. And he was ſo diſintereſted, that though "no man had more opportunities to enrich him-"ſelf than he, who had taken ſo many millions "from the enemies of England, yet he threw it all "into the publick treaſury, and did not die 500 *l.* "richer than his father left him; which the author

"avers

" avers from his perſonal knowledge of his family
" and their circumſtances, having been bred up in
" it, and often heard his brother give this account
" of him. He was religious according to the pre-
" tended purity of theſe times, but would frequently
" allow himſelf to be merry with his officers, and by
" his tenderneſs and generoſity to the ſeamen had
" ſo endeared himſelf to them, that when he died
" they lamented his loſs as that of a common
" father."

Inſtead of more teſtimonies, his character may be properly concluded with one incident of his life, by which it appears how much the ſpirit of Blake was ſuperior to all private views. His brother, in the laſt action with the Spaniards, having not done his duty, was at Blake's deſire diſcarded, and the ſhip was given to another; yet was he not leſs regardful of him as a brother, for when he died he left him his eſtate, knowing him well qualified to adorn or enjoy a private fortune, though he had found him unfit to ſerve his country in a public character, and had therefore not ſuffered him to rob it.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE*.

FRANCIS DRAKE was the ſon of a clergyman in Devonſhire, who being inclined to the doctrine of the Proteſtants, at that time much oppoſed by Henry VIII. was obliged to fly from his place of reſidence into Kent for refuge, from the perſecution raiſed againſt him, and thoſe of the ſame opinion, by the law of the ſix articles.

How long he lived there, or how he was ſupported, was not known ; nor have we any account of the firſt years of Sir Francis Drake's life, of any diſpoſition to hazards and adventures which might have been diſcovered in his childhood, or of the education which qualified him for ſuch wonderful attempts.

We are only informed, that he was put apprentice by his father to the maſter of a ſmall veſſel that traded to France and the Low Countries, under whom he probably learned the rudiments of navigation, and familiariſed himſelf to the dangers and hardſhips of the ſea.

But how few opportunities ſoever he might have in this part of his life for the exerciſe of his courage, he

* This Life was firſt printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1740.

he gave ſo many proofs of diligence and fidelity, that his maſter dying unmarried left him his little veſſel in reward of his ſervices; a circumſtance that deſerves to be remembered, not only as it may illuſtrate the private character of this brave man, but as it may hint, to all thoſe who may hereafter propoſe his conduct for their imitation, That virtue is the ſureſt foundation both of reputation and fortune, and that the firſt ſtep to greatneſs is to be honeſt.

If it were not improper to dwell longer on an incident at the firſt view ſo inconſiderable, it might be added, That it deſerves the reflection of thoſe, who, when they are engaged in affairs not adequate to their abilities, paſs them over with a contemptuous neglect, and while they amuſe themſelves with chimerical ſchemes, and plans of future undertakings, ſuffer every opportunity of ſmaller advantage to ſlip away as unworthy their regard. They may learn from the example of Drake, that diligence in employments of leſs conſequence is the moſt ſucceſsful introduction to greater enterprizes.

After having followed for ſome time his maſter's profeſſion, he grew weary of ſo narrow a province, and, having ſold his little veſſel, ventured his effects in the new trade to the Weſt-Indies, which, having not been long diſcovered, and very little frequented by the Engliſh till that time, were conceived ſo much to abound in wealth, that no voyage thither could fail of being recompenſed by great advantages. Nothing was talked of among the mercantile or adventurous part of mankind, but the beauty and riches of this new world. Freſh diſcoveries were frequently made,

made, new countries and nations never heard of before were daily defcribed, and it may eafily be concluded that the relaters did not diminifh the merit of their attempts, by fuppreffing or diminifhing any circumftance that might produce wonder, or excite curiofity. Nor was their vanity only engaged in raifing admirers, but their intereft likewife in procuring adventurers, who were indeed eafily gained by the hopes which naturally arife from new profpects, though through ignorance of the American feas, and by the malice of the Spaniards, who from the firft difcovery of thofe countries confidered every other nation that attempted to follow them as invaders of their rights, the beft concerted defigns often mifcarried.

Among thofe who fuffered moft from the Spanifh injuftice, was Capt. John Hawkins, who, having been admitted by the viceroy to traffick in the bay of Mexico, was, contrary to the ftipulation then made between them, and in violation of the peace between Spain and England, attacked without any declaration of hoftilities, and obliged, after an obftinate refiftance, to retire with the lofs of four fhips, and a great number of his men, who were either deftroyed or carried into flavery.

In this voyage Drake had adventured almoft all his fortune, which he in vain endeavoured to recover, both by his own private intereft, and by obtaining letters from Queen Elizabeth; for the Spaniards, deaf to all remonftrances, either vindicated the injuftice of the viceroy, or at leaft forbore to redrefs it.

Drake, thus oppreffed and impoverifhed, retained at leaft his courage and his induftry, that ardent fpirit that prompted him to adventures, and that indefa-

tigable patience that enabled him to ſurmount difficulties. He did not ſit down idly to lament misfortunes which heaven had put it in his power to remedy, or to repine at poverty while the wealth of his enemies was to be gained. But having made two voyages to America for the ſake of gaining intelligence of the ſtate of the Spaniſh ſettlements, and acquainted himſelf with the ſeas and coaſts, he determined on a third expedition of more importance, by which the Spaniards ſhould find how imprudently they always act who injure and inſult a brave man.

On the 24th of May 1572, Francis Drake ſet ſail from Plymouth in the Paſcha of ſeventy tons, accompanied by the Swan of twenty-five tons, commanded by his brother John Drake, having in both the veſſels ſeventy-three men and boys, with a year's proviſion, and ſuch artillery and ammunition as was neceſſary for his undertaking, which, however incredible it may appear to ſuch as conſider rather his force than his fortitude, was no leſs than to make repriſals upon the moſt powerful nation in the world.

The wind continuing favourable, they entered June 29, between Guadalupe and Dominica, and on July 6th ſaw the highland of Santa Martha; then continuing their courſe, after having been becalmed for ſome time, they arrived at Port Pheaſant, ſo named by Drake in a former voyage to the Eaſt of Nombre de Dios. Here he propoſed to build his pinnaces, which he had brought in pieces ready framed from Plymouth, and was going aſhore with a few men unarmed, but, diſcovering a ſmoak at a diſtance, ordered the other boat to follow him with a greater force.

Then

Then marching towards the fire, which was in the top of a high tree, he found a plate of lead nailed to another tree, with an inſcription engraved upon it by one Garret an Engliſhman, who had left that place but five days before, and had taken this method of informing him that the Spaniards had been advertiſed of his intention to anchor at that place, and that it therefore would be prudent to make a very ſhort ſtay there.

But Drake knowing how convenient this place was for his deſigns, and conſidering that the hazard and waſte of time which could not be avoided in ſeeking another ſtation, was equivalent to any other danger which was to be apprehended from the Spaniards, determined to follow his firſt reſolution; only, for his greater ſecurity, he ordered a kind of paliſade, or fortification, to be made, by felling large trees, and laying the trunks and branches one upon another by the ſide of the river.

On July 20, having built their pinnaces, and being joined by one Capt. Rauſe, who happened to touch at the ſame place with a bark of fifty men, they ſet ſail towards Nombre de Dios, and, taking two frigates at the iſland of Pines, were informed by the Negroes which they found in them, that the inhabitants of that place were in expectation of ſome ſoldiers, which the governor of Panama had promiſed to defend them from the Symerons, or fugitive Negroes, who, having eſcaped from the tyranny of their maſters in great numbers, had ſettled themſelves under two kings, or leaders, on each ſide of the way between Nombre de Dios and Panama, and not only

aſſerted their natural right to liberty and independence, but endeavoured to revenge the cruelties they had ſuffered, and had lately put the inhabitants of Nombre de Dios into the utmoſt conſternation.

Thoſe Negroes the captain ſet on ſhore on the main land, ſo that they might, by joining the Symerons, recover their liberty, or at leaſt might not have it in their power to give the people of Nombre de Dios any ſpeedy information of his intention to invade them.

Then ſelecting fifty-three men from his own company, and twenty from the crew of his new aſſociate captain Rauſe, he embarked with them in his pinnaces, and ſet ſail for Nombre de Dios.

On July the 28th, at night, he approached the town undiſcovered, and dropt his anchors under the ſhore, intending, after his men were refreſhed, to begin the attack; but finding that they were terrifying each other with formidable accounts of the ſtrength of the place, and the multitude of the inhabitants, he determined to hinder the panick from ſpreading farther, by leading them immediately to action; and therefore ordering them to their oars, he landed without any oppoſition, there being only one gunner upon the bay, though it was ſecured with ſix braſs cannons of the largeſt ſize ready-mounted. But the gunner, while they were throwing the cannons from their carriages, alarmed the town, as they ſoon diſcovered by the bell, the drums, and the noiſe of the people.

Drake, leaving twelve men to guard the pinnaces, marched round the town with no great oppoſition, the

the men being more hurt by treading on the weapons left on the ground by the flying enemy, than by the resistance which they encountered.

At length having taken some of the Spaniards, Drake commanded them to shew him the governor's house, where the mules that bring the silver from Panama were unloaded; there they found the door open, and entering the room where the silver was reposited, found it heaped up in bars in such quantities as almost exceed belief, the pile being, they conjectured, seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height, each bar weighing between thirty and forty-five pounds.

It is easy to imagine that, at the sight of this treasure, nothing was thought on by the English, but by what means they might best convey it to their boats; and doubtless it was not easy for Drake, who, considering their distance from the shore, and the numbers of their enemies, was afraid of being intercepted in his retreat, to hinder his men from encumbering themselves with so much silver as might have retarded their march, and obstructed the use of their weapons; however, by promising to lead them to the king's treasure-house, where there was gold and jewels to a far greater value, and where the treasure was not only more portable, but nearer the coast, he persuaded them to follow him, and rejoin the main body of his men then drawn up under the command of his brother in the market-place.

Here he found his little troop much discouraged by the imagination, that if they stayed any longer the enemy would gain possession of their pinnaces, and that they should then, without any means of

 safety,

ſafety, be left to ſtand alone againſt the whole power of that country. Drake, not indeed eaſily terrified, but ſufficiently cautious, ſent to the coaſt to enquire the truth, and ſee if the ſame terror had taken poſſeſſion of the men whom he had left to guard his boats; but, finding no foundation for theſe dreadful apprehenſions, he perſiſted in his firſt deſign, and led the troop forward to the treaſure-houſe. In their way there fell a violent ſhower of rain, which wet ſome of their bow-ſtrings, and extinguiſhed many of their matches; a misfortune which might ſoon have been repaired, and which perhaps the enemy might ſuffer in common with them, but which however on this occaſion very much embarraſſed them, as the delay produced by it repreſſed that ardour which ſometimes is only to be kept up by continued action, and gave time to the timorous and ſlothful to ſpread their inſinuations, and propagate their cowardice. Some, whoſe fear was their predominant paſſion, were continually magnifying the numbers and courage of their enemies, and repreſented whole nations as ready to ruſh upon them; others, whoſe avarice mingled with their concern for their own ſafety, were more ſolicitous to preſerve what they had already gained, than to acquire more; and others, brave in themſelves, and reſolute, began to doubt of ſucceſs in an undertaking in which they were aſſociated with cowardly companions. So that ſcarcely any man appeared to proceed in their enterprize with that ſpirit and alacrity which could give Drake a proſpect of ſucceſs.

This he perceived, and with ſome emotion told them, that if, after having had the chief treaſure of the

the world within their reach, they ſhould go home and languiſh in poverty, they could blame nothing but their own cowardice; that he had performed his part, and was ſtill deſirous to lead them on to riches and to honour.

Then finding that either ſhame or conviction made them willing to follow him, he ordered the treaſure-houſe to be forced, and commanding his brother, and Oxenham of Plymouth, a man known afterwards for his bold adventures in the ſame parts, to take charge of the treaſure, he commanded the other body to follow him to the market-place, that he might be ready to oppoſe any ſcattered troops of the Spaniards, and hinder them from uniting into one body.

But as he ſtepped forward, his ſtrength failed him on a ſudden, and he fell down ſpeechleſs. Then it was that his companions perceived a wound in his leg, which he had received in the firſt encounter, but hitherto concealed, leſt his men, eaſily diſcouraged, ſhould make their concern for his life a pretence for returning to their boats. Such had been his loſs of blood, as was diſcovered upon nearer obſervation, that it had filled the prints of his footſteps, and it appeared ſcarce credible that after ſuch effuſion of blood, life ſhould remain.

The braveſt were now willing to retire: neither the deſire of honour nor of riches was thought enough to prevail in any man over his regard for his leader. Drake, whom cordials had now reſtored to his ſpeech, was the only man who could not be prevailed on to leave the enterprize unfiniſhed. It was to no pur-

pofe that they advifed him to fubmit to go on board to have his wound dreffed, and promifed to return with him and complete their defign; he well knew how impracticable it was to regain the opportunity when it was once loft, and could eafily forefee that a refpite, of but a few hours, would enable the Spaniards to recover from their confternation, to affemble their forces, refit their batteries, and remove their treafure. What he had undergone fo much danger to obtain was now in his hands, and the thought of leaving it untouched was too mortifying to be patiently born.

However, as there was little time for confultation, and the fame danger attended their ftay in that perplexity and confufion, as their return, they bound up his wound with his fcarf, and partly by force, partly by entreaty, carried him to the boats, in which they all embarked by break of day.

Then taking with them, out of the harbour, a fhip loaded with wines, they went to the Baftimentes, an ifland about a league from the town, where they ftaid two days to repofe the wounded men, and to regale themfelves with the fruits which grew in great plenty in the gardens of that ifland.

During their ftay here, there came over from the main land a Spanifh gentleman, fent by the governor, with inftructions to enquire whether the captain was that Drake who had been before on their coaft, whether the arrows with which many of their men were wounded were not poifoned, and whether they wanted provifions or other neceffaries. The meffenger likewife extolled their courage with the higheft encomiums,

encomiums, and expreſſed his admiration of their daring undertaking. Drake, though he knew the civilities of an enemy are always to be ſuſpected, and that the meſſenger, amidſt all his profeſſions of regard, was no other than a ſpy, yet knowing that he had nothing to apprehend, treated him with the higheſt honours that his condition admitted of. In anſwer to his enquiries, he aſſured him that he was the ſame Drake with whoſe character they were before acquainted, that he was a rigid obſerver of the laws of war, and never permitted his arrows to be poiſoned: he then diſmiſſed him with conſiderable preſents, and told him that, though he had unfortunately failed in this attempt, he would never deſiſt from his deſign, till he had ſhared with Spain the treaſures of America.

They then reſolved to return to the iſle of Pines, where they had left their ſhips, and conſult about the meaſures they were now to take, and having arrived Auguſt 1, at their former ſtation, they diſmiſſed captain Rauſe, who judging it unſafe to ſtay any longer on the coaſt, deſired to be no longer engaged in their deſigns.

But Drake, not to be diſcouraged from his purpoſe by a ſingle diſappointment, after having enquired of a negro, whom he took on board at Nombre de Dios, the moſt wealthy ſettlements, and weakeſt parts of the coaſt, reſolved to attack Carthagena; and ſetting ſail without loſs of time, came to anchor, Auguſt 13, between Chareſha and St. Barnards, two iſlands at a little diſtance from the harbour of Carthagena; then paſſing with his boats round the iſland he entered the harbour, and in the mouth

mouth of it found a frigate with only an old man in it, who voluntarily informed them, that about an hour before a pinnace had paſſed by with ſails and oars, and all the appearance of expedition and importance; that, as ſhe paſſed, the crew on board her bid them take care of themſelves; and that, as ſoon as ſhe touched the ſhore, they heard the noiſe of cannon fired as a warning, and ſaw the ſhipping in the port drawn up under the guns of the caſtle.

The captain, who had himſelf heard the diſcharge of the artillery, was ſoon convinced that he was diſcovered, and that therefore nothing could be attempted with any probability of ſucceſs. He therefore contented himſelf with taking a ſhip of Seville, of two hundred and forty tons, which the relater of this voyage mentions as a very large ſhip, and two ſmall frigates, in which he found letters of advice from Nombre de Dios, intended to alarm that part of the coaſt.

Drake now finding his pinnaces of great uſe, and not having a ſufficient number of ſailors for all his veſſels, was deſirous of deſtroying one of his ſhips, that his pinnaces might be better manned: this, neceſſary as it was, could not eaſily be done without diſguſting his company, who having made ſeveral proſperous voyages in that veſſel, would be unwilling to have it deſtroyed. Drake well knew that nothing but the love of their leaders could animate his followers to encounter ſuch hardſhips as he was about to expoſe them to, and therefore rather choſe to bring his deſigns to paſs by artifice than authority. He ſent for the carpenter of the Swan, took him into his cabbin, and, having firſt engaged him to ſecrecy, ordered

ordered him in the middle of the night to go down into the well of the ſhip, and bore three holes through the bottom, laying ſomething againſt them that might hinder the bubbling of the water from being heard. To this the carpenter, after ſome expoſtulation, conſented, and the next night performed his promiſe.

In the morning, Auguſt 15, Drake going out with his pinnace a fiſhing, rowed up to the Swan, and having invited his brother to partake of his diverſions, enquired, with a negligent air, why their bark was ſo deep in the water; upon which the ſteward going down, returned immediately with an account that the ſhip was leaky, and in danger of ſinking in a little time. They had recourſe immediately to the pump; but, having laboured till three in the afternoon, and gained very little upon the water, they willingly, according to Drake's advice, ſet the veſſel on fire, and went on board the pinnaces.

Finding it now neceſſary to lie concealed for ſome time, till the Spaniards ſhould forget their danger, and remit their vigilance, they ſet ſail for the Sound of Darien, and without approaching the coaſt, that their courſe might not be obſerved, they arrived there in ſix days.

This being a convenient place for their reception, both on account of privacy, as it was out of the road of all trade, and as it was well ſupplied with wood, water, wild fowl, hogs, deer, and all kinds of proviſions, he ſtayed here fifteen days to clean his veſſels, and refreſh his men, who worked interchangeably, on one day the one half, and on the next the other.

On

On the fifth day of September, Drake left his brother with the ſhip at Darien, and ſet out with two pinnaces towards the Rio Grande, which it reached in three days, and on the ninth were diſcovered by a Spaniard from the bank, who believing them to be his countrymen, made a ſignal to them to come on ſhore, with which they very readily complied; but he ſoon finding his miſtake, abandoned his plantation, where they found great plenty of proviſions, with which having laden their veſſels, they departed. So great was the quantity of proviſions which they amaſſed here and in other places, that in different parts of the coaſt they built four magazines or ſtorehouſes, which they filled with neceſſaries for the proſecution of their voyage. Theſe they placed at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that the enemy, if he ſhould ſurpriſe one, might yet not diſcover the reſt.

In the mean time, his brother, Captain John Drake, went, according to the inſtructions that had been left him, in ſearch of the Symerons or fugitive negroes, from whoſe aſſiſtance alone they had now any proſpect of a ſucceſsful voyage; and touching upon the main land, by means of the negro whom they had taken from Nombre de Dios, engaged two of them to come on board his pinnace, leaving two of their own men as hoſtages for their returning. Theſe men, having aſſured Drake of the affection of their nation, appointed an interview between them and their leaders. So leaving Port Plenty, in the iſle of Pines, ſo named by the Engliſh from the great ſtores of proviſions which they had amaſſed at that place, they came, by the direction of the Symerons, into a ſecret bay among beautiful iſlands covered with trees, which

concealed

concealed their ſhip from obſervation, and where the channel was ſo narrow and rocky, that it was impoſſible to enter it by night; ſo that there was no danger of a ſudden attack.

Here they met, and entered into engagements, which common enemies and common dangers preſerved from violation. But the firſt converſation informed the Engliſh, that their expectations were not immediately to be gratified; for upon their enquiries after the moſt probable means of gaining gold and ſilver, the Symerons told them, that, had they known ſooner the chief end of their expedition, they could eaſily have gratified them; but that during the rainy ſeaſon, which was now begun, and which continues ſix months, they could not recover the treaſure, which they had taken from the Spaniards, out of the rivers in which they had concealed it.

Drake therefore propoſing to wait in this place till the rains were paſt, built, with the aſſiſtance of the Symerons, a fort of earth and timber, and, leaving part of his company with the Symerons, ſet out with three pinnaces towards Carthagena, being of a ſpirit too active to lie ſtill patiently, even in a ſtate of plenty and ſecurity, and with the moſt probable expectations of immenſe riches.

On the 16th of October, he anchored within ſight of Carthagena without landing; and on the 17th, going out to ſea, took a Spaniſh bark, with which they entered the harbour, where they were accoſted by a Spaniſh gentleman, whom they had ſome time before taken and ſet at liberty, who coming to them in a boat, as he pretended, without the knowlege of the governor,

governor, made them great promifes of refrefhment and profeffions of efteem; but Drake, having waited till the next morning without receiving the provifions he had been prevailed upon to expect, found that all this pretended kindnefs was no more than a ftratagem to amufe him, while the governor was raifing forces for his deftruction.

October 20, they took two frigates coming out of Carthagena without lading. Why the Spaniards, knowing Drake to lie at the mouth of the harbour, fent out their veffels on purpofe to be taken, does not appear. Perhaps they thought that, in order to keep poffeffion of his prizes, he would divide his company, and by that divifion be more eafily deftroyed.

In a few hours afterwards they fent out two frigates well manned, which Drake foon forced to retire, and having funk one of his prizes, and burnt the other in their fight, leaped afterwards afhore, fingle, in defiance of their troops, which hovered at a diftance in the woods and on the hills, without ever venturing to approach within reach of the fhot from the pinnaces.

To leap upon an enemy's coaft in fight of a fuperior force, only to fhew how little they were feared, was an act that would in thefe times meet with little applaufe, nor can the general be ferioufly commended, or rationally vindicated, who expofes his perfon to deftruction, and by confequence his expedition to mifcarriage, only for the pleafure of an idle infult, an infignificant bravado. All that can be urged in his defence is, that perhaps it might contribute to heighten the efteem of his followers, as few men, efpecially of that clafs, are philofophical

enough

enough to ſtate the exact limits of prudence and bravery, or not to be dazzled with an intrepidity how improperly ſoever exerted. It may be added, that perhaps the Spaniards, whoſe notions of courage are ſufficiently romantic, might look upon him as a more formidable enemy, and yield more eaſily to a hero of whoſe fortitude they had ſo high an idea.

However, finding the whole country advertiſed of his attempts and in arms to oppoſe him, he thought it not proper to ſtay longer where there was no probability of ſucceſs, and where he might in time be overpowered by multitudes, and therefore determined to go forwards to Rio de Heha.

This reſolution, when it was known by his followers, threw them into aſtoniſhment; and the company of one of his pinnaces remonſtrated to him, that, though they placed the higheſt confidence in his conduct, they could not think of undertaking ſuch a voyage without proviſions, having only a gammon of bacon, and a ſmall quantity of bread, for ſeventeen men. Drake anſwered them, that there was on board his veſſel even a greater ſcarcity; but yet, if they would adventure to ſhare his fortune, he did not doubt of extricating them from all their difficulties.

Such was the heroic ſpirit of Drake, that he never ſuffered himſelf to be diverted from his deſigns by any difficulties, nor ever thought of relieving his exigencies, but at the expence of his enemies.

Reſolution and ſucceſs reciprocally produce each other. He had not ſailed more than three leagues, before they diſcovered a large ſhip, which they attacked

attacked with all the intrepidity that neceſſity inſpires, and happily found it laden with excellent proviſions.

But finding his crew growing faint and ſickly with their manner of living in the pinnaces, which was leſs commodious than on board the ſhips, he determined to go back to the Symerons, with whom he left his brother and part of his force, and attempt by their conduct to make his way over, and invade the Spaniards in the inland parts, where they would probably never dream of an enemy.

When they arrived at Port Diego, ſo named from the negro who had procured them their intercourſe with the Symerons, they found Captain John Drake and one of his company dead, being killed, in attempting, almoſt unarmed, to board a frigate well provided with all things neceſſary for its defence. The captain was unwilling to attack it, and repreſented to them the madneſs of their propoſal; but, being overborn by their clamours and importunities, to avoid the imputation of cowardice, complied to his deſtruction. So dangerous is it for the chief commander to be abſent.

Nor was this their only misfortune, for in a very ſhort time many of them were attacked by the calenture, a malignant fever, very frequent in the hot climates, which carried away, among ſeveral others, Joſeph Drake another brother of the commander.

While Drake was employed in taking care of the ſick men, the Symerons, who ranged the country for intelligence, brought him an account, that the Spaniſh fleet was arrived at Nombre de Dios, the truth of which

which was confirmed by a pinnace, which he ſent out to make obſervations.

This, therefore, was the time for their journey, when the treaſures of the American mines were to be tranſported from Panama, over land, to Nombre de Dios. He therefore, by the direction of the Symerons, furniſhed himſelf with all things neceſſary, and on February 3, ſet out from Port Diego.

Having loſt already twenty-eight of his company, and being under the neceſſity of leaving ſome to guard his ſhip, he took with him only eighteen Engliſh, and thirty Symerons, who not only ſerved as guides to ſhew the way, but as purveyors to procure proviſions.

They carried not only arrows for war, but for hunting and fowling; the heads of which are proportioned in ſize to the game which they are purſuing: for oxen, ſtags, or wild boars, they have arrows, or javelins, with heads weighing a pound and half, which they diſcharge near hand, and which ſcarcely ever fail of being mortal. The ſecond ſort are about half as heavy as the other, and are generally ſhot from their bows; theſe are intended for ſmaller beaſts. With the third ſort, of which the heads are an ounce in weight, they kill birds. As this nation is in a ſtate that does not ſet them above continual cares for the immediate neceſſaries of life, he that can temper iron beſt is among them moſt eſteemed, and, perhaps, it would be happy for every nation, if honours and applauſes were as juſtly diſtributed, and he were moſt diſtinguiſhed whoſe abilities were moſt uſeful to ſociety. How many

chimerical titles to precedence, how many falſe pretences to reſpect, would this rule bring to the ground!

Every day, by ſun-riſing, they began to march, and, having travelled till ten, reſted near ſome river till twelve, then travelling again till four, they repoſed all night in houſes, which the Symerons had either left ſtanding in their former marches, or very readily erected for them, by ſetting up three or four poſts in the ground, and laying poles from one to another in form of a roof, which they thatched with palmetto boughs and plantane leaves. In the valleys, where they were ſheltered from the winds, they left three or four feet below open; but on the hills, where they were more expoſed to the chill blaſts of the night, they thatched them cloſe to the ground, leaving only a door for entrance, and a vent in the middle of the room for the ſmoke of three fires, which they made in every houſe.

In their march they met not only with plenty of fruits upon the banks of the rivers, but with wild ſwine in great abundance, of which the Symerons, without difficulty, killed, for the moſt part, as much as was wanted. One day, however, they found an otter, and were about to dreſs it; at which Drake expreſſing his wonder, was aſked by Pedro, the chief Symeron, "Are you a man of war and in want, and "yet doubt whether this be meat that hath blood in "it?" For which Drake in private rebuked him, ſays the relator; whether juſtly or not, it is not very important to determine. There ſeems to be in Drake's ſcruple ſomewhat of ſuperſtition, perhaps not eaſily

eaſily to be juſtified; and the negro's anſwer was, at leaſt, martial, and will, I believe, be generally acknowledged to be rational.

On the third day of their march, Feb. 26, they came to a town of the Symerons, ſituated on the ſide of a hill, and encompaſſed with a ditch and a mud wall, to ſecure it from a ſudden ſurprize: here they lived with great neatneſs and plenty, and ſome obſervation of religion, paying great reverence to the croſs; a practice, which Drake prevailed upon them to change for the uſe of the Lord's prayer. Here they importuned Drake to ſtay for a few days, promiſing to double his ſtrength; but he either thinking greater numbers unneceſſary, or fearing that, if any difference ſhould ariſe, he ſhould be overborn by the number of Symerons, or that they would demand to ſhare the plunder that ſhould be taken in common, or for ſome other reaſon that might eaſily occur, refuſed any addition to his troop, endeavouring to expreſs his refuſal in ſuch terms as might heighten their opinion of his bravery.

He then proceeded on his journey through cool ſhades, and lofty woods, which ſheltered them ſo effectually from the ſun, that their march was leſs toilſome than if they had travelled in England during the heat of the ſummer. Four of the Symerons, that were acquainted with the way, went about a mile before the troop, and ſcattered branches to direct them; then followed twelve Symerons, after whom came the Engliſh, with the two leaders, and the other Symerons cloſed the rear.

On February 11, they arrived at the top of a very high hill, on the ſummit of which grew a tree of

wonderful greatneſs, in which they had cut ſteps for the more eaſy aſcent to the top, where there was a kind of tower, to which they invited Drake, and from thence ſhewed him not only the North Sea, from whence they came, but the great South Sea, on which no Engliſh veſſel had ever ſailed. This proſpect exciting his natural curioſity and ardour for adventures and diſcoveries, he lifted up his hands to God, and implored his bleſſing upon the reſolution, which he then formed, of ſailing in an Engliſh ſhip on that ſea.

Then continuing their march, they came, after two days, into an open, level country, where their paſſage was ſomewhat incommoded with the graſs, which is of a peculiar kind, conſiſting of a ſtalk like that of wheat, and a blade, on which the oxen and other cattle feed, till it grows too high for them to reach; then the inhabitants ſet it on fire, and in three days it ſprings up again; this they are obliged to do thrice a year, ſo great is the fertility of the ſoil.

At length, being within view of Panama, they left all frequented roads for fear of being diſcovered, and poſted themſelves in a grove near the way between Panama and Nombre de Dios; then they ſent a Symeron in the habit of a negro of Panama, to enquire on what night the recoes, or drivers of mules, on which the treaſure is carried, were to ſet forth. The meſſenger was ſo well qualified for his undertaking, and ſo induſtrious in the proſecution of it, that he ſoon returned with an account that the treaſurer of Lima, intending to return to Europe, would paſs that night, with eight mules laden with gold, and one with jewels.

Having

Having received this information, they immediately marched towards Venta Cruz, the firſt town on the way to Nombre de Dios, ſending, for ſecurity, two Symerons before, who, as they went, perceived, by the ſcent of a match, that ſome Spaniard was before them, and going ſilently forwards, ſurpriſed a ſoldier aſleep upon the ground. They immediately bound him, and brought him to Drake, who, upon enquiry, found that their ſpy had not deceived them in his intelligence. The ſoldier, having informed himſelf of the captain's name, conceived ſuch a confidence in his well-known clemency, that, after having made an ample diſcovery of the treaſure that was now at hand, he petitioned not only that he would command the Symerons to ſpare his life, but, that, when the treaſure ſhould fall into his hands, he would allow him as much as might maintain him and his miſtreſs, ſince they were about to gain more than their whole company could carry away.

Drake then ordered his men to lie down in the long graſs, about fifty paces from the road, half on one ſide, with himſelf, and half on the other, with Oxenham and the captain of the Symerons, ſo much behind, that one company might ſeize the foremoſt recoe, and the other the hindermoſt, for the mules of theſe recoes, or drivers, being tied together, travel on a line, and are all guided by leading the firſt.

When they had lain about an hour in this place, they began to hear the bells of the mules on each hand; upon which orders were given, that the droves which came from Venta Cruz ſhould paſs unmo-

lefted, becaufe they carried nothing of great value, and thofe only be intercepted which were travelling thither, and that none of the men fhould rife up till the fignal fhould be given. But one Robert Pike, heated with ftrong liquor, left his company, and prevailed upon one of the Symerons to creep with him to the way-fide, that they might fignalize themfelves by feizing the firft mule, and hearing the trampling of a horfe, as he lay, could not be reftrained by the Symeron from rifing up to obferve who was paffing by. This he did fo imprudently, that he was difcovered by the paffenger, for by Drake's order the Englifh had put their fhirts on over their coats, that the night and tumult might not hinder them from knowing one another.

The gentleman was immediately obferved by Drake to change his trot into a gallop; but, the reafon of it not appearing, it was imputed to his fear of the robbers that ufually infeft that road, and the Englifh ftill continued to expect the treafure.

In a fhort time one of the recoes, that were paffing towards Venta Cruz, came up, and was eagerly feized by the Englifh, who expected nothing lefs than half the revenue of the Indies; nor is it eafy to imagine their mortification and perplexity when they found only two mules laden with filver, the reft having no other burthen than provifions.

The driver was brought immediately to the captain, and informed him that the horfeman, whom he had obferved pafs by with fo much precipitation, had informed the treafurer of what he had obferved, and advifed him to fend back the mules that carried his

his gold and jewels, and fuffer only the reft to proceed, that he might by that cheap experiment difcover whether there was any ambufh on the way.

That Drake was not lefs difgufted than his followers at the difappointment, cannot be doubted; but there was now no time to be fpent in complaints. The whole country was alarmed, and all the force of the Spaniards was fummoned to overwhelm him. He had no fortrefs to retire to, every man was his enemy, and every retreat better known to the Spaniards than to himfelf.

This was an occafion that demanded all the qualities of an hero, an intrepidity never to be fhaken, and a judgement never to be perplexed. He immediately confidered all the circumftances of his prefent fituation, and found that it afforded him only the choice of marching back by the fame way through which he came, or of forcing his paffage to Venta Cruz.

To march back, was to confefs the fuperiority of his enemies, and to animate them to the purfuit; the woods would afford opportunities of ambufh, and his followers muft often difperfe themfelves in fearch of provifions, who would become an eafy prey, difpirited by their difappointment, and fatigued by their march. On the way to Venta Cruz he fhould have nothing to fear but from open attacks, and expected enemies.

Determining therefore to pafs forward to Venta Cruz, he afked Pedro, the leader of the Symerons, whether he was refolved to follow him; and having received from him the ftrongeft affurances that nothing

ſhould ſeparate them, commanded his men to refreſh themſelves, and prepare to ſet forward.

When they came within a mile of the town, they diſmiſſed the mules which they had made uſe of for their more eaſy and ſpeedy paſſage, and continued their march along a road cut through thick woods, in which a company of ſoldiers, who were quartered in the place to defend it againſt the Symerons, had poſted themſelves, together with a convent of friars headed by one of their brethren, whoſe zeal againſt the northern hereſy had incited him to hazard his perſon, and aſſume the province of a general.

Drake, who was advertiſed by two Symerons, whom he ſent before, of the approach of the Spaniards, commanded his followers to receive the firſt volley without firing.

In a ſhort time he heard himſelf ſummoned by the Spaniſh captain to yield, with a promiſe of protection and kind treatment; to which he anſwered with defiance, contempt, and the diſcharge of his piſtol.

Immediately the Spaniards poured in their ſhot, by which only one man was killed, and Drake, with ſome others, ſlightly wounded; upon which the ſignal was given by Drake's whiſtle to fall upon them. The Engliſh, after diſcharging their arrows and ſhot, preſſed furiouſly forward, and drove the Spaniards before them, which the Symerons, whom the terror of the ſhot had driven to ſome diſtance, obſerved, and recalling their courage, animated each other with ſongs in their own language, and ruſhed forward with ſuch impetuoſity,

impetuofity, that they overtook them near the town, and, fupported by the Englifh, difperfed them with the lofs of only one man, who, after he had received his wound, had ftrength and refolution left to kill his affailant.

They purfued the enemy into the town, in which they met with fome plunder, which was given to the Symerons, and treated the inhabitants with great clemency, Drake himfelf going to the Spanifh ladies to affure them that no injuries fhould be offered them; fo infeparable is humanity from true courage.

Having thus broken the fpirits, and fcattered the forces of the Spaniards, he purfued his march to his fhip, without any apprehenfion of danger, yet with great fpeed, being very folicitous about the ftate of the crew; fo that he allowed his men, haraffed as they were, but little time for fleep or refrefhment, but by kind exhortations, gentle authority, and a cheerful participation of all their hardfhips, prevailed upon them to bear, without murmurs not only the toil of travelling, but on fome days the pain of hunger.

In this march he owed much of his expedition to the affiftance of the Symerons, who being accuftomed to the climate, and naturally robuft, not only brought him intelligence, and fhewed the way, but carried neceffaries, provided victuals, and built lodgings, and, when any of the Englifh fainted in the way, two of them would carry him between them for two miles together; nor was their valour lefs than their induftry, after they had learned, from their Englifh

English companions, to despise the fire-arms of the Spaniards.

When they were within five leagues of the ship they found a town built in their absence by the Symerons, at which Drake consented to halt, sending a Symeron to the ship with his gold tooth-pick as a token, which, though the master knew it, was not sufficient to gain the messenger credit, till upon examination he found that the captain having ordered him to regard no messenger without his handwriting, had engraven his name upon it with the point of his knife. He then sent the pinnace up the river, which they met, and afterwards sent to the town for those whose weariness had made them unable to march farther. On February 23, the whole company was reunited; and Drake, whose good or ill success never prevailed over his piety, celebrated their meeting with thanks to God.

Drake, not yet discouraged, now turned his thoughts to new prospects, and, without languishing in melancholy reflections upon his past miscarriages, employed himself in forming schemes for repairing them. Eager of action, and acquainted with man's nature, he never suffered idleness to infect his followers with cowardice, but kept them from sinking under any disappointment, by diverting their attention to some new enterprize.

Upon consultation with his own men and the Symerons, he found them divided in their opinions: some declaring, that, before they engaged in any new attempt, it was necessary to increase their stores of provisions; and others urging, that the ships in which the treasure was conveyed, should be immediately

ately attacked. The Symerons propofed a third plan, and advifed him to undertake another march over land to the houfe of one Pezoro near Veragua, whofe flaves brought him every day more than two hundred pounds fterling from the mines, which he heaped together in a ftrong ftone houfe, which might by the help of the Englifh be eafily forced.

Drake, being unwilling to fatigue his followers with another journey, determined to comply with both the other opinions; and manning his two pinnaces, the Bear and the Minion, he fent John Oxenham in the Bear towards Tolon, to feize upon provifions; and went himfelf in the Minion to the Cabezas, to intercept the treafure that was to be tranfported from Veragua and that coaft to the fleet at Nombre de Dios, firft difmiffing with prefents thofe Symerons that defired to return to their wives, and ordered thofe that chofe to remain to be entertained in the fhip.

Drake, took at the Cabezas a frigate of Nicaragua, the pilot of which informed him that there was, in the harbour of Veragua, a fhip freighted with more than a million of gold, to which he offered to conduct him (being well acquainted with the foundings) if he might be allowed his fhare of the prize; fo much was his avarice fuperior to his honefty.

Drake, after fome deliberation, complying with the pilot's importunities, failed towards the harbour, but had no fooner entered the mouth of it than he heard the report of artillery, which was anfwered by others at a greater diftance; upon which the pilot told him that they were difcovered, this being the fignal appointed by the governor to alarm the coaft.

Drake

Drake now thought it convenient to return to the ſhip, that he might enquire the ſucceſs of the other pinnace, which he found, with a frigate that ſhe had taken, with twenty-eight fat hogs, two hundred hens, and great ſtore of maize, or Indian corn. The veſſel itſelf was ſo ſtrong and well built, that he fitted it out for war, determining to attack the fleet at Nombre de Dios.

On March the 21ſt he ſet ſail with the new frigate and the Bear towards the Cabezas, at which he arrived in about two days, and found there Tetu, a Frenchman, with a ſhip of war, who, after having received from him a ſupply of water and other neceſſaries, intreated that he might join with him in his attempt; which Drake conſenting to, admitted him to accompany him with twenty of his men, ſtipulating to allow them an equal ſhare of whatever booty they ſhould gain. Yet were they not without ſome ſuſpicions of danger from this new ally, he having eighty men, and they being now reduced to thirty-one.

Then manning the frigate and two pinnaces, they ſet ſail for the Cabezas, where they left the frigate, which was too large for the ſhallows over which they were to paſs, and proceeded to Rio Franciſco. Here they landed, and having ordered the pinnaces to return to the ſame place on the 4th day following, travelled through the woods towards Nombre de Dios, with ſuch ſilence and regularity, as ſurpriſed the French, who did not imagine the Symerons ſo diſcreet or obedient as they appeared, and were therefore in perpetual anxiety about the fidelity of their guides, and the probability of their return. Nor did the Symerons

merons treat them with that ſubmiſſion and regard which they paid to the Engliſh, whoſe bravery and conduct they had already tried.

At length, after a laborious march of more than ſeven leagues, they began to hear the hammers of the carpenters in the bay, it being the cuſtom in that hot ſeaſon to work in the night; and in a ſhort time they perceived the approach of the recoes, or droves of mules, from Panama. They now no longer doubted that their labours would be rewarded, and every man imagined himſelf ſecure from poverty and labour for the remaining part of his life. They, therefore, when the mules came up, ruſhed out and ſeized them, with an alacrity proportioned to their expectations. The three droves conſiſted of one hundred and nine mules, each of which carried three hundred pounds weight of ſilver. It was to little purpoſe that the ſoldiers ordered to guard the treaſure, attempted reſiſtance. After a ſhort combat, in which the French captain, and one of the Symerons, were wounded, it appeared with how much greater ardour men are animated by intereſt than fidelity.

As it was poſſible for them to carry away but a ſmall part of this treaſure, after having wearied themſelves with hiding it in holes and ſhallow waters, they determined to return by the ſame way, and, without being purſued, entered the woods, where the French captain, being diſabled by his wound, was obliged to ſtay, two of his company continuing with him.

When they had gone forward about two leagues, the Frenchmen miſſed another of their company, who upon enquiry was known to be intoxicated with wine, and

and ſuppoſed to have loſt himſelf in the woods, by neglecting to obſerve the guides.

But common prudence not allowing them to hazard the whole company by too much ſolicitude for a ſingle life, they travelled on towards Rio Franciſco, at which they arrived April the 3d; but, looking out for their pinnaces, were ſurpriſed with the ſight of ſeven Spaniſh ſhallops, and immediately concluded that ſome intelligence of their motions had been carried to Nombre de Dios, and that theſe veſſels had been fitted out to purſue them, which might undoubtedly have overpowered the pinnaces and their feeble crew. Nor did their ſuſpicion ſtop here; but immediately it occurred to them, that their men had been compelled by torture to diſcover where their frigate and ſhip were ſtationed, which being weakly manned, and without the preſence of the chief commander, would fall into their hands, almoſt without reſiſtance, and all poſſibility of eſcaping be entirely cut off.

Theſe reflections ſunk the whole company into deſpair; and every one, inſtead of endeavouring to break through the difficulties that ſurrounded him, reſigned up himſelf to his ill fortune; when Drake, whoſe intrepidity was never to be ſhaken, and whoſe reaſon was never to be ſurpriſed or embarraſſed, repreſented to them that, though the Spaniards ſhould have made themſelves maſters of their pinnaces, they might yet be hindered from diſcovering the ſhips. He put them in mind that the pinnaces could not be taken, the men examined, their examinations compared, the reſolutions formed, their veſſels ſent out, and the ſhips taken in an inſtant. Some time muſt

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neceſſarily be ſpent before the laſt blow could be ſtruck; and, if that time were not negligently loſt, it might be poſſible for ſome of them to reach the ſhips before the enemy, and direct them to change their ſtation.

They were animated with this diſcourſe, by which they diſcovered that their leader was not without hope; but when they came to look more nearly into their ſituation, they were unable to conceive upon what it was founded. To paſs by land was impoſſible, as the way lay over high mountains, through thick woods and deep rivers; and they had not a ſingle boat in their power, ſo that a paſſage by water ſeemed equally impracticable. But Drake, whoſe penetration immediately diſcovered all the circumſtances and inconveniencies of every ſcheme, ſoon determined upon the only means of ſucceſs which their condition afforded them; and ordering his men to make a raft out of the trees that were then floating on the river, offered himſelf to put off to ſea upon it, and cheerfully aſked who would accompany him. John Owen, John Smith, and two Frenchmen, who were willing to ſhare his fortune, embarked with him on the raft, which was fitted out with a ſail made of a biſket ſack, and an oar to direct its courſe inſtead of a rudder.

Then, having comforted the reſt with aſſurances of his regard for them, and reſolution to leave nothing unattempted for their deliverance, he put off, and after having, with much difficulty, ſailed three leagues, deſcried two pinnaces haſting towards him, which, upon a nearer approach, he diſcovered to be his own, and perceiving that they anchored behind a point

point that jutted out into the ſea, he put to ſhore, and, croſſing the land on foot, was received by his company with that ſatisfaction which is only known to thoſe that have been acquainted with dangers and diſtreſſes.

The ſame night they rowed to Rio Franciſco, where they took in the reſt, with what treaſure they had been able to carry with them through the woods; then ſailing back with the utmoſt expedition, they return-ed to their frigate, and ſoon after to their ſhip, where Drake divided the gold and ſilver equally between the French and the Engliſh.

Here they ſpent about fourteen days in fitting out their frigate more completely, and then diſmiſſing the Spaniards with their ſhip, lay a few days among the Cabezas; while twelve Engliſh and ſixteen Sy-merons travelled once more into the country, as well to recover the French captain, whom they had left wounded, as to bring away the treaſure which they had hid in the ſands. Drake, whom his company would not ſuffer to hazard his perſon in another land expedition, went with them to Rio Franciſco, where he found one of the Frenchmen who had ſtayed to attend their captain, and was informed by him, upon his enquiries after his fortune, that, half an hour after their ſeparation, the Spaniards came upon them, and eaſily ſeized upon the wounded captain; but that his companions might have eſcaped with him, had he not preferred money to life; for ſeeing him throw down a box of jewels that retarded him, he could not for-bear taking it up, and with that, and the gold which he had already, was ſo loaded that he could not eſcape. With regard to the bars of gold and ſilver, which

which they had concealed in the ground, he informed them that two thouſand men had been employed in digging for them.

The men, however, either miſtruſting the informer's veracity, or confident that what they had hidden could not be found, purſued their journey; but upon their arrival at the place, found the ground turned up for two miles round, and were able to recover no more than thirteen bars of ſilver, and a ſmall quantity of gold. They diſcovered afterwards that the Frenchman who was left in the woods, falling afterwards into the hands of the Spaniards, was tortured by them till he confeſſed where Drake had concealed his plunder. So fatal to Drake's expedition was the drunkenneſs of his followers.

Then diſmiſſing the French, they paſſed by Carthagena with their colours flying, and ſoon after took a frigate laden with proviſions and honey, which they valued as a great reſtorative, and then ſailed away to the Cabezas.

Here they ſtayed about a week to clean their veſſels, and fit them for a long voyage, determining to ſet ſail for England; and, that the faithful Symerons might not go away unrewarded, broke up their pinnaces, and gave them the iron, the moſt valuable preſent in the world to a nation whoſe only employments were war and hunting, and amongſt whom ſhow and luxury had no place.

Pedro, their captain, being deſired by Drake to go through the ſhip, and to chooſe what he moſt deſired, fixed his eye upon a ſcymeter ſet with diamonds, which the French captain had preſented to Drake; and being unwilling to aſk for ſo valuable a preſent,

offered for it four large quoits, or thick plates of gold, which he had hitherto concealed; but Drake, desirous to shew him that fidelity is seldom without a recompence, gave it him with the highest professions of satisfaction and esteem. Pedro, receiving it with the utmost gratitude, informed him, that by bestowing it he had conferred greatness and honour upon him; for by presenting it to his king, he doubted not of obtaining the highest rank amongst the Symerons. He then persisted in his resolution of leaving the gold, which was generously thrown by Drake into the common stock; for he said, that those, at whose expences he had been sent out, ought to share in all the gain of the expedition, whatever pretence cavil and chicanery might supply for the appropriation of any part of it. Thus was Drake's character consistent with itself; he was equally superior to avarice and fear, and through whatever danger he might go in quest of gold, he thought it not valuable enough to be obtained by artifice or dishonesty.

They now forsook the coast of America, which for many months they had kept in perpetual alarms, having taken more than two hundred ships of all sizes between Carthagena and Nombre de Dios, of which they never destroyed any, unless they were fitted out against them, nor ever detained the prisoners longer than was necessary for their own security or concealment, providing for them in the same manner as for themselves, and protecting them from the malice of the Symerons; a behaviour, which humanity dictates, and which, perhaps, even policy cannot disapprove. He must certainly meet with obstinate opposition, who makes it equally dangerous

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to yield as to refift, and who leaves his enemies no hopes but from victory.

What riches they acquired is not particularly related; but it is not to be doubted, that the plunder of fo many veffels, together with the filver which they feized at Nombre de Dios, muft amount to a very large fum, though the part that was allotted to Drake was not fufficient to lull him in effeminacy, or to reprefs his natural inclination to adventures.

They arrived at Plymouth on the 9th of Auguft, 1573, on Sunday in the afternoon; and fo much were the people delighted with the news of their arrival, that they left the preacher, and ran in crowds to the key with fhouts and congratulations.

Drake having, in his former expedition, had a view of the South fea, and formed a refolution to fail upon it, did not fuffer himfelf to be diverted from his defign by the profpect of any difficulties that might obftruct the attempt, nor any dangers that might attend the execution; obftacles which brave men often find it much more eafy to overcome, than fecret envy and domeftick treachery.

Drake's reputation was now fufficiently advanced to incite detraction and oppofition; and it is eafy to imagine that a man by nature fuperior to mean artifices, and bred, from his earlieft years, to the labour and hardfhips of a fea life, was very little acquainted with policy and intrigue, very little verfed in the methods of application to the powerful and great, and unable to obviate the practices of thofe whom his merit had made his enemies.

Nor are fuch the only opponents of great enterprifes: there are fome men, of narrow views and gro-

velling conceptions, who, without the inſtigation of perſonal malice, treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical, and look upon every endeavour to depart from the beaten track as the raſh effort of a warm imagination, or the glittering ſpeculation of an exalted mind, that may pleaſe and dazzle for a time, but can produce no real or laſting advantage.

Theſe men value themſelves upon a perpetual ſcepticiſm, upon believing nothing but their own ſenſes, upon calling for demonſtration where it cannot poſſibly be obtained, and ſometimes upon holding out againſt it when it is laid before them; upon inventing arguments againſt the ſucceſs of any new undertaking, and, where arguments cannot be found, upon treating it with contempt and ridicule.

Such have been the moſt formidable enemies of the great benefactors to mankind, and to theſe we can hardly doubt but that much of the oppoſition which Drake met with is to be attributed; for their notions and diſcourſe are ſo agreeable to the lazy, the envious and the timorous, that they ſeldom fail of becoming popular, and directing the opinions of mankind.

Whatſoever were his obſtacles, and whatſoever the motives that produced them, it was not till the year 1577, that he was able to aſſemble a force proportioned to his deſign, and to obtain a commiſſion from the queen, by which he was conſtituted captain general of a fleet conſiſting of five veſſels, of which the Pelican, Admiral, of an hundred tons, was commanded by himſelf; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, of eighty tons, by John Winter; the Marigold, of thirty tons by John Thomas; the Swan, fifty tons, by John Cheſter; the Chriſtopher, of fifteen tons, by Thomas

mas Moche, the ſame, as it ſeems, who was carpenter in the former voyage, and deſtroyed one of the ſhips by Drake's direction.

Theſe ſhips, equipped partly by himſelf, and partly by other private adventurers, he manned with 164 ſtout ſailors, and furniſhed with ſuch proviſions as he judged neceſſary for the long voyage in which he was engaged. Nor did he confine his concern to naval ſtores, or military preparations; but carried with him whatever he thought might contribute to raiſe in thoſe nations, with which he ſhould have any intercourſe, the higheſt ideas of the politeneſs and magnificence of his native country. He therefore not only procured a compleat ſervice of ſilver for his own table, and furniſhed the cook-room with many veſſels of the ſame metal, but engaged ſeveral muſicians to accompany him; rightly judging that nothing would more excite the admiration of any ſavage and uncivilized people.

Having been driven back by a tempeſt in their firſt attempt, and obliged to return to Plymouth, to repair the damages which they had ſuffered, they ſet ſail again from thence on the 13th of December 1577, and on the 25th had ſight of Cape Cantire in Barbary, from whence they coaſted on ſouthward to the iſland of Mogadore, which Drake had appointed for the firſt place of rendezvous, and on the 27th brought the whole fleet to anchor in a harbour on the main land.

They were ſoon after their arrival diſcovered by the Moors that inhabited thoſe coaſts, who ſent two of the principal men amongſt them on board Drake's ſhip, receiving at the ſame time two of his

company as hoſtages. Theſe men he not only treated in the moſt ſplendid manner, but preſented with ſuch things as they appeared moſt to admire; it being with him an eſtabliſhed maxim, to endeavour to ſecure in every country a kind reception to ſuch Engliſhmen as might come after him, by treating the inhabitants with kindneſs and generoſity; a conduct at once juſt and politick, to the neglect of which may be attributed many of the injuries ſuffered by our ſailors in diſtant countries, which are generally aſcribed, rather to the effects of wickedneſs and folly of our own commanders, than the barbarity of the natives, who ſeldom fall upon any unleſs they have been firſt plundered or inſulted; and, in revenging the ravages of one crew upon another of the ſame nation, are guilty of nothing but what is countenanced by the example of the Europeans themſelves.

But this friendly intercourſe was in appearance ſoon broken; for, on the next day obſerving the Moors making ſignals from the land, they ſent out their boat, as before, to fetch them to the ſhip, and one John Fry leaped aſhore, intending to become a hoſtage as on the former day, when immediately he was ſeized by the Moors; and the crew, obſerving great numbers to ſtart up from behind the rock with weapons in their hands, found it madneſs to attempt his reſcue, and therefore provided for their own ſecurity by returning to the ſhip.

Fry was immediately carried to the king, who, being then in continual expectation of an invaſion from Portugal, ſuſpected that theſe ſhips were ſent only to obſerve the coaſt, and diſcover a proper

harbour

harbour for the main fleet; but being informed who they were, and whither they were bound, not only difmiffed his captive, but made large offers of friendfhip and affiftance, which Drake, however, did not ftay to receive, but being difgufted at this breach of the laws of commerce, and afraid of farther violence, after having fpent fome days in fearching for his man, in which he met with no refiftance, left the coaft on December 31, fome time before Fry's return, who, being obliged by this accident to fomewhat a longer refidence among the Moors, was afterwards fent home in a merchant's fhip.

On January 16, they arrived at Cape Blanc, having in their paffage taken feveral Spanifh veffels. Here while Drake was employing his men in catching fifh, of which this coaft affords great plenty, and various kinds, the inhabitants came down to the feafide with their aliforges, or leather-bottles, to traffick for water, which they were willing to purchafe with ambergrife and other gums. But Drake, compaffionating the mifery of their condition, gave them water whenever they afked for it, and left them their commodities to traffick with, when they fhould be again reduced to the fame diftrefs, without finding the fame generofity to relieve them.

Here having difcharged fome Spanifh fhips which they had taken, they fet fail towards the ifles of Cape Verd, and on January 28 came to anchor before Mayo, hoping to furnifh themfelves with frefh water; but having landed, they found the town by the water's fide entirely deferted, and, marching farther up the country, faw the vallies extremely fruitful,

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and abounding with ripe figs, cocoes, and plantains, but could by no means prevail upon the inhabitants to converſe or traffick with them: however, they were ſuffered by them to range the country without moleſtation, but found no water, except at ſuch a diſtance from the ſea that the labour of conveying it to the ſhips was greater than it was at that time neceſſary for them to undergo. Salt, had they wanted it, might have been obtained with leſs trouble, being left by the ſea upon the ſand, and hardened by the ſun during the ebb, in ſuch quantities, that the chief traffick of their iſland is carried on with it.

January 31, they paſſed by St. Jago, an iſland at that time divided between the natives and the Portuguese, who, firſt entering theſe iſlands under the ſhow of traffick, by degrees eſtabliſhed themſelves, claimed a ſuperiority over the original inhabitants, and haraſſed them with ſuch cruelty, that they obliged them either to fly to the woods and mountains, and periſh with hunger, or to take arms againſt their oppreſſors, and, under the inſuperable diſadvantages with which they contended, to die almoſt without a battle in defence of their natural rights, and ancient poſſeſſions.

Such treatment had the natives of St. Jago received, which had driven them into the rocky parts of the iſland, from whence they made incurſions into the plantations of the Portugueſe, ſometimes with loſs, but generally with that ſucceſs which deſperation naturally procures; ſo that the Portugueſe were in continual alarms, and lived with the natural conſequences of guilt, terror, and anxiety. They were

wealthy,

wealthy, but not happy, and poſſeſſed the iſland, but not enjoyed it.

They then ſailed on within ſight of Fogo, an iſland ſo called from a mountain, about the middle of it, continually burning, and like the reſt, inhabited by the Portugueſe, two leagues to the ſouth of which lies Brava, which has received its name from its fertility, abounding, though uninhabited, with all kinds of fruits, and watered with great numbers of ſprings and brooks, which would eaſily invite the poſſeſſors of the adjacent iſlands to ſettle in it, but that it affords neither harbour nor anchorage. Drake, after having ſent out his boats with plummets, was not able to find any ground about it; and it is reported, that many experiments have been made with the ſame ſucceſs; however, he took in water ſufficient, and on the 2d of February ſet ſail for the Straits of Magellan.

On February 17, they paſſed the equator, and continued their voyage, with ſometimes calms, and ſometimes contrary winds, but without any memorable accident, to March 28, when one of their veſſels, with twenty-eight men, and the greateſt part of their freſh water on board, was, to their great diſcouragement, ſeparated from them; but their perplexity laſted not long, for on the next day they diſcovered and rejoined their aſſociates.

In their long courſe, which gave them opportunities of obſerving ſeveral animals, both in the air and water, at that time very little known, nothing entertained or ſurprized them more than the Flying Fiſh, which is near of the ſame ſize with a herring, and has fins of the length of his whole body, by the

the help of which, when he is purſued by the bonito, or great mackerel, as ſoon as he finds himſelf upon the point of being taken, he ſprings up into the air, and flies forward as long as his wings continue wet, moiſture being, as it ſeems, neceſſary to make them pliant and moveable; and when they become dry and ſtiff, he falls down into the water, unleſs ſome bark or ſhip intercept him, and dips them again for a ſecond flight. This unhappy animal is not only purſued by fiſhes in his natural element, but attacked in the air, where he hopes for ſecurity, by the don, or ſparkite, a great bird that preys upon fiſh; and their ſpecies muſt ſurely be deſtroyed, were not their increaſe ſo great, that the young fry, in one part of the year, covers the ſea.

There is another fiſh, named the cuttil, of which whole ſhoals will ſometimes riſe at once out of the water, and of which a great multitude fell into their ſhip.

At length, having ſailed without ſight of land for ſixty-three days, they arrived, April 5, at the coaſt of Braſil, where, on the 7th, the Chriſtopher was ſeparated again from them by a ſtorm; after which they ſailed near the land to the ſouthward, and on the 14th anchored under a cape, which they afterwards called Cape Joy, becauſe in two days the veſſel which they had loſt returned to them.

Having ſpent a fortnight in the river of Plata, to refreſh his men, after their long voyage, and then ſtanding out to ſea, he was again ſurprized by a ſudden ſtorm, in which they loſt ſight of the Swan. This accident determined Drake to contract the number of his fleet, that he might not only avoid the incon-

inconvenience of ſuch frequent ſeparations, but eaſe the labour of his men, by having more hands in each veſſel.

For this purpoſe he ſailed along the coaſt in queſt of a commodious harbour, and, on May 13, diſcovered a bay, which ſeemed not improper for their purpoſe, but which they durſt not enter till it was examined; an employment in which Drake never truſted any, whatever might be his confidence in his followers on other occaſions. He well knew how fatal one momont's inattention might be, and how eaſily almoſt every man ſuffers himſelf to be ſurprized by indolence and ſecurity. He knew the ſame credulity, that might prevail upon him to truſt another, might induce another to commit the ſame office to a third; and it muſt be, at length, that ſome of them would be deceived. He therefore, as at other times, ordered the boat to be hoiſted out, and, taking the line into his hand, went on ſounding the paſſage till he was three leagues from his ſhip; when, on a ſudden, the weather changed, the ſkies blackened, the winds whiſtled, and all the uſual forerunners of a ſtorm began to threaten them; nothing was now deſired but to return to the ſhip, but the thickneſs of the fog intercepting it from their ſight, made the attempt little other than deſperate. By ſo many unforeſeen accidents is prudence itſelf liable to be embarraſſed! So difficult is it ſometimes for the quickeſt ſagacity, and moſt enlightened experience, to judge what meaſures ought to be taken! To truſt another to ſound an unknown coaſt, appeared to Drake folly and preſumption; to be abſent from his fleet, though but for an hour, proved nothing

lefs than to hazard the fuccefs of their labours, hardfhips, and dangers.

In this perplexity, which Drake was not more fenfible of than thofe whom he had left in the fhips, nothing was to be omitted, however dangerous, that might contribute to extricate them from it, as they could venture nothing of equal value with the life of their general. Captain Thomas therefore, having the lighteft veffel, fteered boldly into the bay, and taking the general aboard, dropped anchor, and lay out of danger, while the reft that were in the open fea fuffered much from the tempeft, and the Mary, a Portuguefe prize, was driven away before the wind; the others, as foon as the tempeft was over, difcovering by the fires which were made on fhore where Drake was, repaired to him.

Here going on fhore they met with no inhabitants, though there were feveral houfes or huts ftanding, in which they found a good quantity of dried fowls, and among them a great number of oftriches, of which the thighs were as large as thofe of a fheep. Thefe birds are too heavy and unwieldy to rife from the ground, but with the help of their wings run fo fwiftly, that the Englifh could never come near enough to fhoot at them. The Indians, commonly, by holding a large plume of feathers before them, and walking gently forward, drive the oftriches into fome narrow neck, or point of land, then fpreading a ftrong net from one fide to the other, to hinder them from returning back to the open fields, fet their dogs upon them, thus confined between the net and the water, and when they are thrown on their backs, rufh in and take them.

Not

Not finding this harbour convenient, or well ſtored with wood and water, they left it on the 15th of May, and on the 18th entered another much ſafer, and more commodious, which they no ſooner arrived at, than Drake, whoſe reſtleſs application never remitted, ſent Winter to the ſouthward, in queſt of thoſe ſhips which were abſent, and immediately after ſailed himſelf to the northward, and, happily meeting with the Swan, conducted it to the reſt of the fleet; after which, in purſuance of his former reſolution, he ordered it to be broken up, reſerving the iron work for a future ſupply. The other veſſel which they loſt in the late ſtorm could not be diſcovered.

While they were thus employed upon an iſland about a mile from the main land, to which, at low water, there was a paſſage on foot, they were diſcovered by the natives, who appeared upon a hill at a diſtance, dancing and holding up their hands, as beckoning the Engliſh to them; which Drake obſerving, ſent out a boat, with knives, bells, and bugles, and ſuch things as, by their uſefulneſs or novelty, he imagined would be agreeable. As ſoon as the Engliſh landed, they obſerved two men running towards them, as deputed by the company, who came within a little diſtance, and then ſtanding ſtill could not be prevailed upon to come nearer. The Engliſh therefore tied their preſents to a pole, which they fixed in the ground, and then retiring, ſaw the Indians advance, who, taking what they found upon the pole, left, in return, ſuch feathers as they wear upon their heads, with a ſmall bone about ſix inches in length, carved round the top, and burniſhed.

Drake,

Drake, obſerving their inclination to friendſhip and traffick, advanced with ſome of his company towards the hill, upon ſight of whom the Indians ranged themſelves in a line from eaſt to weſt, and one of them running from one end of the rank to the other, backwards and forwards, bowed himſelf towards the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, holding his hands over his head, and frequently ſtopping in the middle of the rank, leaping up towards the moon, which then ſhone directly over their heads; thus calling the ſun and moon, the deities they worſhip, to witneſs the ſincerity of their profeſſions of peace and friendſhip. While this ceremony was performed, Drake and his company aſcended the hill, to the apparent terror of the Indians, whoſe apprehenſions when the Engliſh perceived, they peaceably retired; which gave the natives ſo much encouragement, that they came forward immediately, and exchanged their arrows, feathers, and bones, for ſuch trifles as were offered them.

Thus they traded for ſome time; but by frequent intercourſe finding that no violence was intended, they became familiar, and mingled with the Engliſh without the leaſt diſtruſt.

They go quite naked, except a ſkin of ſome animal, which they throw over their ſhoulders when they lie in the open air. They knit up their hair, which is very long, with a roll of oſtrich feathers, and uſually carry their arrows wrapped up in it, that they may not encumber them, they being made with reeds, headed with flint, and therefore not heavy. Their bows are about an ell long.

Their

Their chief ornament is paint, which they uſe of ſeveral kinds, delineating generally upon their bodies the figures of the ſun and moon, in honour of their deities.

It is obſervable, that moſt nations, amongſt whom the uſe of cloaths is unknown, paint their bodies. Such was the practice of the firſt inhabitants of our own country. From this cuſtom did our earlieſt enemies, the Picts, owe their denomination. As it is not probable that caprice or fancy ſhould be uniform, there muſt be, doubtleſs, ſome reaſon for a practice ſo general and prevailing in diſtant parts of the world, which have no communication with each other. The original end of painting their bodies was, probably, to exclude the cold; an end, which, if we believe ſome relations, is ſo effectually produced by it, that the men thus painted never ſhiver at the moſt piercing blaſts. But doubtleſs any people ſo hardened by continual ſeverities, would, even without paint, be leſs ſenſible of the cold than the civilized inhabitants of the ſame climate. However, this practice may contribute, in ſome degree, to defend them from the injuries of winter, and, in thoſe climates where little evaporates by the pores, may be uſed with no great inconvenience; but in hot countries, where perſpiration in greater degree is neceſſary, the natives only uſe unction to preſerve them from the other extreme of weather: ſo well do either reaſon or experience ſupply the place of ſcience in ſavage countries.

They had no canoes like the other Indians, nor any method of croſſing the water, which was probably the reaſon why the birds in the adjacent iſlands were

were ſo tame, that they might be taken with the hand, having never been before frighted or moleſted. The great plenty of fowls and ſeals, which crowded the ſhallows in ſuch numbers that they killed at their firſt arrival two hundred of them in an hour, contributed much to the refreſhment of the Engliſh, who named the place Seal Bay, from that animal.

Theſe ſeals ſeem to be the chief food of the natives, for the Engliſh often found raw pieces of their fleſh half eaten, and left, as they ſuppoſed, after a full meal by the Indians, whom they never knew to make uſe of fire, or any art, in dreſſing or preparing their victuals.

Nor were their other cuſtoms leſs wild or uncouth than their way of feeding; one of them having received a cap off the general's head, and being extremely pleaſed as well with the honour as the gift, to expreſs his gratitude, and confirm the alliance between them, retired to a little diſtance, and thruſting an arrow into his leg, let the blood run upon the ground, teſtifying, as it is probable, that he valued Drake's friendſhip above life.

Having ſtaid fifteen days among theſe friendly ſavages in 47 deg. 30 min. S. Lat. on June 3, they ſet ſail towards the South ſea, and ſix days afterwards ſtopped at another little bay to break up the Chriſtopher. Then paſſing on, they caſt anchor in another bay, not more than 20 leagues diſtant from the Straits of Magellan.

It was now time ſeriouſly to deliberate in what manner they ſhould act with regard to the Portugueſe prize, which, having been ſeparated from them by the

the ſtorm, had not yet rejoined them. To return in ſearch of it was ſufficiently mortifying; to proceed without it, was not only to deprive themſelves of a conſiderable part of their force, but to expoſe their friends and companions, whom common hardſhips and dangers had endeared to them, to certain death or captivity. This conſideration prevailed; and therefore on the 18th, after prayers to God, with which Drake never forgot to begin an enterprize, he put to ſea, and the next day, near Port Julian, diſcovered their aſſociates, whoſe ſhip was now grown leaky, having ſuffered much, both in the firſt ſtorm by which they were diſperſed, and afterwards in fruitleſs attempts to regain the fleet.

Drake, therefore, being deſirous to relieve their fatigues, entered Port Julian, and, as it was his cuſtom always to attend in perſon when any important buſineſs was in hand, went aſhore with ſome of the chief of his company, to ſeek for water, where he was immediately accoſted by two natives, of whom Magellan left a very terrible account, having deſcribed them as a nation of giants and monſters; nor is his narrative entirely without foundation, for they are of the largeſt ſize, though not taller than ſome Engliſhmen; their ſtrength is proportioned to their bulk, and their voice loud, boiſterous, and terrible. What were their manners before the arrival of the Spaniards, it is not poſſible to diſcover; but the ſlaughter made of their countrymen, perhaps without provocation, by theſe cruel intruders, and the general maſſacre with which that part of the world had been depopulated, might have raiſed in them a ſuſpicion of all ſtrangers, and by conſe-

 quence

quence made them inhoſpitable, treacherous, and bloody.

The two who aſſociated themſelves with the Engliſh appeared much pleaſed with their new gueſts, received willingly what was given them, and very exactly obſerved every thing that paſſed, ſeeming more particularly delighted with ſeeing Oliver, the maſter-gunner, ſhoot an Engliſh arrow. They ſhot themſelves likewiſe in emulation, but their arrows always fell to the ground far ſhort of his.

Soon after this friendly conteſt came another, who obſerving the familiarity of his countrymen with the ſtrangers, appeared much diſpleaſed, and, as the Engliſhmen perceived, endeavoured to diſſuade them from ſuch an intercourſe. What effect his arguments had was ſoon after apparent, for another of Drake's companions, being deſirous to ſhow the third Indian a ſpecimen of the Engliſh valour and dexterity, attempted likewiſe to ſhoot an arrow, but drawing it with his full force burſt the bow-ſtring; upon which the Indians, who were unacquainted with their other weapons, imagined him diſarmed, followed the company, as they were walking negligently down towards their boat, and let fly their arrows, aiming particularly at Winter, who had the bow in his hand. He, finding himſelf wounded in the ſhoulder, endeavoured to refit his bow, and turning about was pierced with a ſecond arrow in the breaſt. Oliver the gunner, immediately preſented his piece at the inſidious aſſailants, which failing to take fire gave them time to level another flight of arrows, by which he was killed; nor, perhaps, had any of them eſcaped, ſurprized and perplexed as they were, had not Drake, with his uſual

preſence

presence of mind, animated their courage, and directed their motions, ordering them, by perpetually changing their places, to elude, as much as they could, the aim of their enemies, and to defend their bodies with their targets; and instructing them, by his own example, to pick up, and break the arrows as they fell; which they did with so much diligence, that the Indians were soon in danger of being disarmed. Then Drake himself taking the gun, which Oliver had so unsuccessfully attempted to make use of, discharged it at the Indian that first began the fray, and had killed the gunner, aiming it so happily, that the hail shot, with which it was loaded, tore open his belly, and forced him to such terrible outcries, that the Indians, though their numbers increased, and many of their countrymen shewed themselves from different parts of the adjoining wood, were too much terrified to renew the assault, and suffered Drake, without molestation, to withdraw his wounded friend, who, being hurt in his lungs, languished two days, and then dying, was interred with his companion, with the usual ceremony of a military funeral.

They stayed here two months afterwards, without receiving any other injuries from the natives, who, finding the danger to which they exposed themselves by open hostilities, and not being able any more to surprize the vigilance of Drake, preferred their safety to revenge.

But Drake had other enemies to conquer or escape, far more formidable than these Barbarians, and insidious practices to obviate, more artful and dangerous than the ambushes of the Indians; for in this place

was laid open a defign formed by one of the gentlemen of the fleet, not only to defeat the voyage, but to murder the general.

This tranfaction is related in fo obfcure and confufed a manner, that it is difficult to form any judgment upon it. The writer, who gives the largeft account of it, has fuppreffed the name of the criminal, which we learn, from a more fuccinct narrative, publifhed in a collection of travels near that time, to have been Thomas Doughtie. What were his inducements to attempt the deftruction of his leader, and the ruin of the expedition, or what were his views if his defigns had fucceeded, what meafures he had hitherto taken, whom he had endeavoured to corrupt, with what arts, or what fuccefs, we are no where told.

The plot, as the narrative affures us, was laid before their departure from England, and difcovered, in its whole extent, to Drake himfelf in his garden at Plymouth, who neverthelefs not only entertained the perfon fo accufed as one of his company, but, this writer very particularly relates, treated him with remarkable kindnefs and regard, fetting him always at his own table, and lodging him in the fame cabbin with himfelf. Nor did he ever difcover the leaft fufpicion of his intentions, till they arrived at this place, but appeared, by the authority with which he invefted him, to confider him, as one to whom, in his abfence, he could moft fecurely intruft the direction of his affairs. At length, in this remote corner of the world, he found out a defign formed againft his life, called together all his officers, laid before them the evidence on which he grounded the accufation, and

fummoned

ſummoned the criminal, who, full of all the horrors of guilt, and confounded at ſo clear a detection of his whole ſcheme, immediately confeſſed his crimes, and acknowledged himſelf unworthy of longer life: upon which the whole aſſembly, conſiſting of thirty perſons, after having conſidered the affair with the attention which it required, and heard all that could be urged in extenuation of his offence, unanimouſly ſigned the ſentence by which he was condemned to ſuffer death. Drake, however, unwilling, as it ſeemed, to proceed to extreme ſeverities, offered him his choice, either of being executed on the iſland, or ſet aſhore on the main land, or being ſent to England to be tried before the council; of which, after a day's conſideration, he choſe the firſt, alledging the improbability of perſuading any to leave the expedition for the ſake of tranſporting a criminal to England, and the danger of his future ſtate among ſavages and infidels. His choice, I believe, few will approve: to be ſet aſhore on the main land, was indeed only to be executed in a different manner; for what mercy could be expected from the natives ſo incenſed, but the moſt cruel and lingering death? But why he ſhould not rather have requeſted to be ſent to England it is not eaſy to conceive. In ſo long a voyage he might have found a thouſand opportunities of eſcaping, perhaps with the connivance of his keepers, whoſe reſentment muſt probably in time have given way to compaſſion, or at leaſt by their negligence, as it is eaſy to believe they would in times of eaſe and refreſhment have remitted their vigilance: at leaſt he would have gained longer life; and to make death deſirable ſeems not one of the effects of guilt.

However, he was, as it is related, obſtinately deaf to all perſuaſions, and adhering to his firſt choice, after having received the communion, and dined chearfully with the general, was executed in the afternoon with many proofs of remorſe, but none of fear.

How far it is probable that Drake, after having been acquainted with this man's deſigns, ſhould admit him into his fleet, and afterwards careſs, reſpect, and truſt him; or that Doughtie, who is repreſented as a man of eminent abilities, ſhould engage in ſo long and hazardous a voyage with no other view than that of defeating it; is left to the determination of the reader. What deſigns he could have formed with any hope of ſucceſs, or to what actions worthy of death he could have proceeded without accomplices, for none are mentioned, is equally difficult to imagine. Nor, on the other hand, though the obſcurity of the account, and the remote place choſen for the diſcovery of this wicked project, ſeem to give ſome reaſon for ſuſpicion, does there appear any temptation, from either hope, fear, or intereſt, that might induce Drake, or any commander in his ſtate, to put to death an innocent man upon falſe pretences.

After the execution of this man, the whole company, either convinced of the juſtice of the proceeding, or awed by the ſeverity, applied themſelves without any murmurs, or appearance of diſcontent, to the proſecution of the voyage; and having broken up another veſſel, and reduced the number of their ſhips to three, they left the port, and on Auguſt the 20th entered the Straits of Magellan, in which they

ſtruggled

ſtruggled with contrary winds, and the various dangers to which the intricacy of that winding paſſage expoſed them till night, and then entered a more open ſea, in which they diſcovered an iſland with a burning mountain. On the 24th they fell in with three more iſlands to which Drake gave names, and, landing to take poſſeſſion of them in the name of his Sovereign, found in the largeſt ſo prodigious a number of birds, that they killed three thouſand of them in one day. This bird, of which they knew not the name was ſomewhat leſs than a wild gooſe, without feathers, and covered with a kind of down, unable to fly or riſe from the ground, but capable of running and ſwimming with amazing celerity; they feed on the ſea, and come to land only to reſt at night or lay their eggs, which they depoſit in holes like thoſe of coneys.

From theſe iſlands to the South-ſea, the ſtrait becomes very crooked and narrow, ſo that ſometimes, by the interpoſition of headlands, the paſſage ſeems ſhut up, and the voyage entirely ſtopped. To double theſe capes is very difficult, on account of the frequent alterations to be made in the courſe. There are indeed, as Magellan obſerves, many harbours, but in moſt of them no bottom is to be found.

The land on both ſides riſes into innumerable mountains: the tops of them are encircled with clouds and vapours, which being congealed fall down in ſnow, and increaſe their height by hardening into ice, which is never diſſolved; but the valleys are, nevertheleſs, green, fruitful, and pleaſant.

Here Drake finding the ſtrait in appearance ſhut up, went in his boat to make farther diſcoveries, and having found a paſſage towards the north, was returning to his ſhips; but curioſity ſoon prevailed upon him to ſtop, for the ſake of obſerving a canoe or boat, with ſeveral natives of the country in it. He could not at a diſtance forbear admiring the form of this little veſſel, which ſeemed inclining to a ſemicircle, the ſtern and prow ſtanding up, and the body ſinking inward; but much greater was his wonder, when, upon a nearer inſpection, he found it made only of the barks of trees ſewed together with thongs of ſeal-ſkin, ſo artificially that ſcarcely any water entered the ſeams. The people were well ſhaped and painted, like thoſe which have been already deſcribed. On the land they had a hut built with poles and covered with ſkins, in which they had water-veſſels and other utenſils, made likewiſe of the barks of trees.

Among theſe people they had an opportunity of remarking, what is frequently obſervable in ſavage countries, how natural ſagacity, and unwearied induſtry, may ſupply the want of ſuch manufactures, or natural productions, as appear to us abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of life. The inhabitants of theſe iſlands are wholly ſtrangers to iron and its uſe, but inſtead of it make uſe of the ſhell of a muſcle of prodigious ſize, found upon their coaſts; this they grind upon a ſtone to an edge, which is ſo firm and ſolid, that neither wood nor ſtone is able to reſiſt it.

September 6, they entered the great South-ſea, on which no Engliſh veſſel had ever been navigated before,

fore, and propofed to have directed their courfe towards the line, that their men, who had fuffered by the feverity of the climate, might recover their ftrength in a warmer latitude. But their defigns were fcarce formed before they were fruftrated; for on September 7, after an eclipfe of the moon, a ftorm arofe, fo violent, that it left them little hopes of furviving it; nor was its fury fo dreadful as its continuance, for it lafted with little intermiffion till October 28, fifty-two days, during which time they were toffed inceffantly from one part of the ocean to another, without any power of fpreading their fails, or lying upon their anchors, amidft fhelving fhores, fcattered rocks, and unknown iflands, the tempeft continually roaring, and the waves dafhing over them.

In this ftorm on the 30th of September, the Marigold, commanded by captain Thomas, was feparated from them. On the 7th of October, having entered a harbour, where they hoped for fome intermiffion of their fatigues, they were in a few hours forced out to fea by a violent guft, which broke the cable, at which time they loft fight of the Elizabeth, the vice-admiral, whofe crew, as was afterwards difcovered, wearied with labour, and difcouraged by the profpect of future dangers, recovered the Straits on the next day, and, returning by the fame paffage through which they came, failed along the coaft of Brafil, and on the 2d of June, in the year following, arrived at England.

From this bay, they were driven fouthward to fifty-five degrees, where among fome iflands they ftayed two days, to the great refrefhment of the crew;

crew; but, being again forced into the main ſea, they were toſſed about with perpetual expectation of periſhing, till ſoon after they again came to anchor near the ſame place, where they found the natives, whom the continuance of the ſtorm had probably reduced to equal diſtreſs, rowing from one iſland to another, and providing the neceſſaries of life.

It is, perhaps, a juſt obſervation, that, with regard to outward circumſtances, happineſs and miſery are equally diffuſed through all ſtates of human life. In civilized countries, where regular policies have ſecured the neceſſaries of life, ambition, avarice, and luxury, find the mind at leiſure for their reception, and ſoon engage it in new purſuits; purſuits that are to be carried on by inceſſant labour, and whether vain or ſucceſsful, produce anxiety and contention. Among ſavage nations, imaginary wants find indeed no place; but their ſtrength is exhauſted by neceſſary toils, and their paſſions agitated not by conteſts about ſuperiority, affluence, or precedence, but by perpetual care for the preſent day, and by fear of periſhing for want of food.

But for ſuch reflections as theſe they had no time; for, having ſpent three days in ſupplying themſelves with wood and water, they were by a new ſtorm driven to the latitude of fifty-ſix degrees, where they beheld the extremities of the American coaſt, and the confluence of the Atlantic and ſouthern ocean.

Here they arrived on the 28th of October, and at laſt were bleſſed with the ſight of a calm ſea, having for almoſt two months endured ſuch a ſtorm as no traveller has given an account of, and ſuch as in

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that part of the world, though accuſtomed to hurricanes, they were before unacquainted with.

On the 30th of October they ſteered away towards the place appointed for the rendezvous of the fleet, which was in thirty degrees, and on the next day diſcovered two iſlands ſo well ſtocked with fowls, that they victualled their ſhips with them, and then ſailed forwards along the coaſt of Peru till they came to thirty-ſeven degrees, where finding neither of their ſhips, nor any convenient port, they came to anchor, November the 25th, at Mucho, an iſland inhabited by ſuch Indians as the cruelty of the Spaniſh conquerors had driven from the continent, to whom they applied for water and proviſions, offering them in return ſuch things as they imagined moſt likely to pleaſe them. The Indians ſeemed willing to traffick, and having preſented them with fruits and two fat ſheep, would have ſhewed them a place whither they ſhould come for water.

The next morning, according to agreement, the Engliſh landed with their water-veſſels, and ſent two men forward towards the place appointed, who, about the middle of the way, were ſuddenly attacked by the Indians and immediately ſlain. Nor were the reſt of the company out of danger; for behind the rocks was lodged an ambuſh of five hundred men, who, ſtarting up from their retreat, diſcharged their arrows into the boat with ſuch dexterity, that every one of the crew was wounded by them, the ſea being then high, and hindering them from either retiring or making uſe of their weapons. Drake himſelf received an arrow under his eye, which pierced him almoſt to the brain, and another in his head. The danger

danger of theſe wounds was much increaſed by the abſence of their ſurgeon, who was in the vice-admiral, ſo that they had none to aſſiſt them but a boy, whoſe age did not admit of much experience or ſkill; yet ſo much were they favoured by Providence, that they all recovered.

No reaſon could be aſſigned for which the Indians ſhould attack them with ſo furious a ſpirit of malignity, but that they miſtook them for Spaniards, whoſe cruelties might very reaſonably incite them to revenge, whom they had driven by inceſſant perſecution from their country, waſting immenſe tracks of land by maſſacre and devaſtation.

On the afternoon of the ſame day, they ſet ſail, and on the 30th of November dropped anchor in Philips bay, where their boat having been ſent out to diſcover the country, returned with an Indian in his canoe, whom they had intercepted. He was of a graceful ſtature, dreſſed in a white coat or gown, reaching almoſt to his knees, very mild, humble, and docile, ſuch as perhaps were all the Indians, till the Spaniards taught them revenge, treachery, and cruelty.

This Indian, having been kindly treated, was diſmiſſed with preſents, and informed, as far as the Engliſh could make him underſtand, what they chiefly wanted, and what they were willing to give in return; Drake ordering his boat to attend him in his canoe, and to ſet him ſafe on the land.

When he was aſhore, he directed them to wait till his return, and, meeting ſome of his countrymen, gave them ſuch an account of his reception, that, within a few hours, ſeveral of them repaired with him to the

boat

boat with fowls, eggs, and a hog, and with them one of their captains, who willingly came into the boat, and desired to be conveyed by the English to their ship.

By this man Drake was informed, that no supplies were to be expected here; but that southward, in a place to which he offered to be his pilot, there was great plenty. This proposal was accepted, and on the 5th of December, under the direction of the good-natured Indian, they came to anchor in the harbour called, by the Spaniards, Valperizo, near the town of St. James of Chiuli, where they met not only with sufficient stores of provision, and with storehouses full of the wines of Chili, but with a ship called the Captain of Morial, richly laden, having, together with large quantities of the same wines, some of the fine gold of Baldivia, and a great cross of gold set with emeralds.

Having spent three days in storing their ships with all kinds of provision in the utmost plenty, they departed, and landed their Indian pilot where they first received him, after having rewarded him much above his expectations or desires.

They had now little other anxiety than for their friends who had been separated from them, and whom they now determined to seek; but considering that, by entering every creek and harbour with their ship, they exposed themselves to unnecessary dangers, and that their boat would not contain such a number as might defend themselves against the Spaniards, they determined to station their ship at some place, where they might commodiously build a pinnace, which, being of light burden, might easily sail where

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the ſhip was in danger of being ſtranded, and at the ſame time might carry a ſufficient force to reſiſt the enemy, and afford better accommodation than could be expected in the boat.

To this end, on the 19th of December, they entered a bay near Cippo, a town inhabited by Spaniards, who, diſcovering them, immediately iſſued out, to the number of an hundred horſemen, with about two hundred naked Indians running by their ſides. The Engliſh obſerving their approach, retired to their boat without any loſs, except of one man, whom no perſuaſions or entreaties could move to retire with the reſt, and who, therefore, was ſhot by the Spaniards, who, exulting at the victory, commanded the Indians to draw the dead carcaſe from the rock on which he fell, and in the ſight of the Engliſh beheaded it, then cut off the right hand, and tore out the heart, which they carried away, having firſt commanded the Indians to ſhoot their arrows all over the body. The arrows of the Indians were made of green wood for the immediate ſervice of the day; the Spaniards, with the fear that always haraſſes oppreſſors, forbidding them to have any weapons, when they do not want their preſent aſſiſtance.

Leaving this place they ſoon found a harbour more ſecure and convenient, where they built their pinnace, in which Drake went to ſeek his companions, but, finding the wind contrary, he was obliged to return in two days.

Leaving this place ſoon after, they ſailed along the coaſt in ſearch of freſh water, and landing at Turapaca, they found a Spaniard aſleep, with ſilver bars lying by him to the value of three thouſand ducats;

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not all the inſults which they had received from his countrymen could provoke them to offer any violence to his perſon, and therefore they carried away his treaſure, without doing him any farther harm.

Landing in another place, they found a Spaniard driving eight Peruvian ſheep, which are the beaſts of burthen in that country, each laden with an hundred pounds weight of ſilver, which they ſeized likewiſe and drove to their boats.

Further along the coaſt lay ſome Indian towns from which the inhabitants repaired to the ſhip, on floats made of ſeal-ſkins, blown full of wind, two of which they faſten together, and ſitting between them row with great ſwiftneſs, and carry conſiderable burthens. They very readily traded for glaſs and ſuch trifles, with which the old and the young ſeemed equally delighted.

Arriving at Mormorena on the 26th of January, Drake invited the Spaniards to traffick with him, which they agreed to, and ſupplied him with neceſſaries, ſelling to him, among other proviſions, ſome of thoſe ſheep which have been mentioned, whoſe bulk is equal to that of a cow, and whoſe ſtrength is ſuch that one of them can carry three tall men upon his back; their necks are like a camel's, and their heads like thoſe of our ſheep. They are the moſt uſeful animals of this country, not only affording excellent fleeces and wholeſome fleſh, but ſerving as carriages over rocks and mountains where no other beaſt can travel, for their foot is of a peculiar form, which enables them to tread firm in the moſt ſteep and ſlippery places.

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On all this coaſt, the whole ſoil is ſo impregnated with ſilver, that five ounces may be ſeparated from an hundred pound weight of common earth.

Still coaſting in hopes of meeting their friends, they anchored on the 7th of February before Aria, where they took two barks with about eight hundred pound weight of ſilver, and, purſuing their courſe, ſeized another veſſel laden with linens.

On the 15th of February 1578, they arrived at Lima, and entered the harbour without reſiſtance, though thirty ſhips were ſtationed there, of which ſeventeen were equipped for their voyage, and many of them are repreſented in the narrative as veſſels of conſiderable force; ſo that their ſecurity ſeems to have conſiſted not in their ſtrength, but in their reputation, which had ſo intimidated the Spaniards, that the ſight of their own ſuperiority could not rouſe them to oppoſition. Inſtances of ſuch panick terrors are to be met with in other relations; but as they are, for the moſt part, quickly diſſipated by reaſon and reflection, a wiſe commander will rarely found his hopes of ſucceſs on them; and, perhaps, on this occaſion, the Spaniards ſcarcely deſerve a ſeverer cenſure for their cowardice, than Drake for his temerity.

In one of theſe ſhips they found fifteen hundred bars of ſilver; in another a cheſt of money; and very rich lading in many of the reſt, of which the Spaniards tamely ſuffered them to carry the moſt valuable part away, and would have permitted them no leſs peaceably to burn their ſhips; but Drake never made war with a ſpirit of cruelty or revenge,

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or carried hoſtilities further than was neceſſary for his own advantage or defence.

They ſet ſail the next morning towards Panama, in queſt of the Caca Fuego, a very rich ſhip, which had ſailed fourteen days before, bound thither from Lima, which they overtook on the firſt of March, near Cape Franciſco, and boarding it, found not only a quantity of jewels, and twelve cheſts of ryals of plate, but eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty ſix tons of uncoined ſilver, with pieces of wrought plate to a great value. In unlading this prize, they ſpent ſix days, and then, diſmiſſing the Spaniards, ſtood off to ſea.

Being now ſufficiently enriched, and having loſt all hopes of finding their aſſociates, and perhaps beginning to be infected with that deſire of eaſe and pleaſure which is the natural conſequence of wealth obtained by dangers and fatigues, they began to conſult about their return home, and, in purſuance of Drake's advice, reſolved firſt to find out ſome convenient harbour, where they might ſupply themſelves with wood and water, and then endeavour to diſcover a paſſage from the South-ſea into the Atlantic ocean; a diſcovery which would not only enable them to return home with leſs danger, and in a ſhorter time, but would much facilitate the navigation in thoſe parts of the world.

For this purpoſe they had recourſe to a port in the iſland of Caines, where they met with fiſh, wood, and freſh water, and in their courſe took a ſhip laden with ſilk and linen, which was the laſt that they met with on the coaſt of America.

But being deſirous of ſtoring themſelves for a long courſe, they touched, April the 15th, at Guatulco, a Spaniſh iſland, where they ſupplied themſelves with proviſions, and ſeized a buſhel of ryals of ſilver.

From Guatulco, which lies in 15 deg. 40 min. they ſtood out to ſea, and, without approaching any land, ſailed forward, till on the night following, the 3d of June, being then in the latitude of 38 degrees, they were ſuddenly benumbed with ſuch cold blaſts, that they were ſcarcely able to handle the ropes. This cold increaſed upon them, as they proceeded, to ſuch a degree, that the ſailors were diſcouraged from mounting upon the deck; nor were the effects of the climate to be imputed to the warmth of the regions to which they had been lately accuſtomed, for the ropes were ſtiff with froſt, and the meat could ſcarcely be conveyed warm to the table.

On June 17th they came to anchor in 38 deg. 30 min. when they ſaw the land naked, and the trees without leaves, and in a ſhort time had opportunities of obſerving that the natives of that country were no leſs ſenſible of the cold than themſelves; for the next day came a man rowing in his canoe towards the ſhip, and at a diſtance from it made a long oration, with very extraordinary geſticulations, and great appearance of vehemence, and a little time afterwards made a ſecond viſit in the ſame manner, and then returning a third time, he preſented them, after his harangue was finiſhed, with a kind of crown of black feathers, ſuch as their kings wear upon their heads, and a baſket of ruſhes filled with a particular herb, both which he faſtened to a ſhort ſtick, and threw

into the boat; nor could he be prevailed upon to receive any thing in return, though pushed towards him upon a board; only he took up a hat, which was flung into the water.

Three days afterwards, their ship, having received some damage at sea, was brought nearer to land, that the lading might be taken out. In order to which, the English, who had now learned not too negligently to commit their lives to the mercy of savage nations, raised a kind of fortification with stones, and built their tents within it. All this was not beheld by the inhabitants without the utmost astonishment, which incited them to come down in crowds to the coast, with no other view, as it appeared, than to worship the new divinities that had condescended to touch upon their country.

Drake was far from countenancing their errors, or taking advantage of their weakness to injure or molest them; and therefore, having directed them to lay aside their bows and arrows, he presented them with linen, and other necessaries, of which he shewed them the use. They then returned to their habitations, about three quarters of a mile from the English camp, where they made such loud and violent outcries, that they were heard by the English, who found that they still persisted in their first notions, and were paying them their kind of melancholy adoration.

Two days afterwards, they perceived the approach of a far more numerous company, who stopped at the top of a hill which overlooked the English settlement, while one of them made a long oration, at the end of which all the assembly bowed their bodies, and pro-

nounced the ſyllable *Oh* with a ſolemn tone, as by way of confirmation of what had been ſaid by the orator. Then the men, laying down their bows, and leaving the women and children on the top of the hill, came down towards the tents, and ſeemed tranſported in the higheſt degree at the kindneſs of the general, who received their gifts, and admitted them to his preſence. The women at a diſtance appeared ſeized with a kind of frenzy, ſuch as that of old among the Pagans in ſome of their religious ceremonies, and in honour, as it ſeemed, of their gueſts, tore their cheeks and boſoms with their nails, and threw themſelves upon the ſtones with their naked bodies till they were covered with blood.

Theſe cruel rites, and miſtaken honours, were by no means agreeable to Drake, whoſe predominant ſentiments were notions of piety; and, therefore, not to make that criminal in himſelf by his concurrence, which, perhaps, ignorance might make guiltleſs in them, he ordered his whole company to fall upon their knees, and, with their eyes lifted up to heaven, that the ſavages might obſerve that their worſhip was addreſſed to a Being reſiding there, they all joined in praying that this harmleſs and deluded people might be brought to the knowledge of the true religion, and the doctrines of our bleſſed Saviour; after which they ſung pſalms, a performance ſo pleaſing to their wild audience, that in all their viſits they generally firſt accoſted them with a requeſt that they would ſing. They then returned all the preſents which they had received, and retired.

Three days after this, on June 25, 1579, our general received two ambaſſadors from the Hioh, or king

king of the country, who, intending to viſit the camp, required that ſome token might be ſent him of friendſhip and peace; this requeſt was readily complied with, and ſoon after came the king, attended by a guard of about an hundred tall men, and preceded by an officer of ſtate, who carried a ſceptre made of black wood, adorned with chains of a kind of bone or horn, which are marks of the higheſt honour among them, and having two crowns, made as before, with feathers faſtened to it, with a bag of the ſame herb which was preſented to Drake at his firſt arrival.

Behind him was the king himſelf, dreſſed in a coat of coney-ſkins, with a cawl woven with feathers upon his head, an ornament ſo much in eſtimation there, that none but the domeſticks of the king are allowed to wear it; his attendants followed him, adorned nearly in the ſame manner; and after them came the common people, with baſkets plaited ſo artificially that they held water, in which, by way of ſacrifice, they brought roots and fiſh.

Drake, not lulled into ſecurity, ranged his men in order of battle, and waited their approach, who coming nearer ſtood ſtill while the ſceptre-bearer made an oration, at the concluſion of which they again came forward to the foot of the hill, and then the ſceptre-bearer began a ſong, which he accompanied with a dance, in both which the men joined, but the women danced without ſinging.

Drake now, diſtruſting them no longer, admitted them into his fortification, where they continued their ſong and dance a ſhort time; and then both the king, and ſome others of the company, made long harangues, in which it appeared, by the reſt of their

behaviour, that they entreated him to accept of their country, and to take the government of it into his own hands; for the king, with the apparent concurrence of the reſt, placed the crown upon his head, graced him with the chains and other ſigns of authority, and ſaluted him by the title of Hioh.

The kingdom thus offered, though of no farther value to him than as it furniſhed him with preſent neceſſaries, Drake thought it not prudent to refuſe; and therefore took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Queen Elizabeth, not without ardent wiſhes that this acquiſition might have been of uſe to his native country, and that ſo mild and innocent a people might have been united to the church of Chriſt.

The kingdom being thus conſigned, and the grand affair at an end, the common people left their king and his domeſticks, with Drake, and diſperſed themſelves over the camp; and when they ſaw any one that pleaſed them by his appearance more than the reſt, they tore their fleſh, and vented their outcries as before, in token of reverence and admiration.

They then proceeded to ſhew them their wounds and diſeaſes, in hopes of a miraculous and inſtantaneous cure; to which the Engliſh, to benefit and undeceive them at the ſame time, applied ſuch remedies as they uſed on the like occaſions.

They were now grown confident and familiar, and came down to the camp every day repeating their ceremonies and ſacrifices, till they were more fully informed how diſagreeable they were to thoſe whoſe favour they were ſo ſtudious of obtaining: they then viſited them without adoration indeed, but with a curioſity

curioſity ſo ardent, that it left them no leiſure to provide the neceſſaries of life, with which the Engliſh were therefore obliged to ſupply them.

They had then ſufficient opportunity to remark the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of theſe new allies, whom they found tractable and benevolent, ſtrong of body, far beyond the Engliſh, yet unfurniſhed with weapons, either for aſſault or defence, their bows being too weak for any thing but ſport. Their dexterity in taking fiſh was ſuch, that, if they ſaw them ſo near the ſhore that they could come to them without ſwimming, they never miſſed them.

The ſame curioſity that had brought them in ſuch crowds to the ſhore, now induced Drake, and ſome of his company, to travel up into the country, which they found, at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, very fruitful, filled with large deer, and abounding with a peculiar kind of coneys, ſmaller than ours, with tails like that of a rat, and paws ſuch as thoſe of a mole; they have bags under their chin, in which they carry proviſions to their young.

The houſes of the inhabitants are round holes dug in the ground, from the brink of which they raiſe rafters, or piles ſhelving towards the middle, where they all meet, and are cramped together; they lie upon ruſhes, with the fire in the midſt, and let the ſmoak fly out at the door.

The men are generally naked; but the women make a kind of petticoat of bulruſhes, which they comb like hemp, and throw the ſkin of a deer over their ſhoulders. They are very modeſt, tractable, and obedient to their huſbands.

Such is the condition of this people; and not very different is, perhaps, the ſtate of the greateſt part of mankind. Whether more enlightened nations ought to look upon them with pity, as leſs happy than themſelves, ſome ſceptics have made, very unneceſſarily, a difficulty of determining. More, they ſay, is loſt by the perplexities than gained by the inſtruction of ſcience; we enlarge our vices with our knowledge, and multiply our wants with our attainments, and the happineſs of life is better ſecured by ignorance of vice than by the knowledge of virtue.

The fallacy, by which ſuch reaſoners have impoſed upon themſelves, ſeems to ariſe from the compariſon which they make, not between two men equally inclined to apply the means of happineſs in their power to the end for which Providence conferred them, but furniſhed in unequal proportions with the means of happineſs, which is the true ſtate of ſavage and poliſhed nations, but between two men, of which he to whom Providence has been moſt bountiful deſtroys the bleſſings by negligence, or obſtinate miſuſe; while the other, ſteady, diligent, and virtuous, employs his abilities and conveniencies to their proper end. The queſtion is not whether a good Indian or bad Engliſhman be moſt happy; but which ſtate is moſt deſirable, ſuppoſing virtue and reaſon the ſame in both.

Nor is this the only miſtake which is generally admitted in this controverſy, for theſe reaſoners frequently confound innocence with the mere incapacity of guilt. He that never ſaw, or heard, or thought of ſtrong liquors, cannot be propoſed as a pattern of ſobriety.

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This land was named, by Drake, Albion, from its white cliffs, in which it bore ſome reſemblance to his native country; and the whole hiſtory of the reſignation of it to the Engliſh was engraven on a piece of braſs, then nailed on a poſt, and fixed up before their departure, which being now diſcovered by the people to be near at hand, they could not forbear perpetual lamentations. When the Engliſh on the 23d of July weighed anchor, they ſaw them climbing to the tops of hills, that they might keep them in ſight, and obſerved fires lighted up in many parts of the country, on which, as they ſuppoſed, ſacrifices were offered.

Near this harbour they touched at ſome iſlands, where they found great numbers of ſeals; and, deſpairing now to find any paſſage through the northern parts, he, after a general conſultation, determined to ſteer away to the Moluccas, and ſetting ſail July 25th, he ſailed for ſixty-eight days without ſight of land; and on September 30th arrived within view of ſome iſlands, ſituate about eight degrees northward from the line, from whence the inhabitants reſorted to them in canoes, hollowed out of the ſolid trunk of a tree, and raiſed at both ends ſo high above the water, that they ſeemed almoſt a ſemicircle; they were burniſhed in ſuch a manner, that they ſhone like ebony, and were kept ſteady by a piece of timber, fixed on each ſide of them, with ſtrong canes, that were faſtened at one end to the boat, and at the other to the end of the timber.

The firſt company that came brought fruits, potatoes, and other things of no great value, with an appearance of traffick, and exchanged their lading for

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other commodities, with great ſhew of honeſty and friendſhip; but, having as they imagined, laid all ſuſpicion aſleep, they ſoon ſent another fleet of canoes, of which the crews behaved with all the inſolence of tyrants, and all the rapacity of thieves; for, whatever was ſuffered to come into their hands, they ſeemed to conſider as their own, and would neither pay for it nor reſtore it; and at length finding the Engliſh reſolved to admit them no longer, they diſcharged a ſhower of ſtones from their boats, which inſult Drake prudently and generouſly returned by ordering a piece of ordnance to be fired without hurting them, at which they were ſo terrified, that they leaped into the water, and hid themſelves under the canoes.

Having for ſome time but little wind, they did not arrive at the Moluccas till the 3d of November, and then deſigning to touch at Tidore, they were viſited, as they ſailed by a little iſland belonging to the king of Ternate, by the viceroy of the place, who informed them, that it would be more advantageous for them to have recourſe to his maſter for ſupplies and aſſiſtance than to the king of Ternate, who was in ſome degree dependent on the Portugueſe, and that he would himſelf carry the news of their arrival, and prepare their reception.

Drake was by the arguments of the viceroy prevailed upon to alter his reſolution, and on November 5, caſt anchor before Ternate; and ſcarce was he arrived, before the viceroy, with others of the chief nobles, came out in three large boats, rowed by forty men on each ſide, to conduct the ſhip

ſhip into a ſafe harbour; and ſoon after the king himſelf, having received a velvet cloak by a meſſenger from Drake, as a token of peace, came with ſuch a retinue and dignity of appearance as was not expected in thoſe remote parts of the world. He was received with diſcharges of cannons and every kind of muſick, with which he was ſo much delighted, that, deſiring the muſicians to come down into the boat, he was towed along in it at the ſtern of the ſhip.

The king was of a graceful ſtature, and regal carriage, of a mild aſpect, and low voice; his attendants were dreſſed in white cotton or callicoe, of whom ſome, whoſe age gave them a venerable appearance, ſeemed his counſellors, and the reſt officers or nobles; his guards were not ignorant of fire-arms, but had not many among them, being equipped for the moſt part with bows and darts.

The king having ſpent ſome time in admiring the multitude of new objects that preſented themſelves, retired as ſoon as the ſhip was brought to anchor, and promiſed to return on the day following; and in the mean time the inhabitants, having leave to traffick, brought down proviſions in great abundance.

At the time when the king was expected, his brother came aboard, to requeſt of Drake that he would come to the caſtle, propoſing to ſtay himſelf as a hoſtage for his return. Drake refuſed to go, but ſent ſome gentlemen, detaining the king's brother in the mean time.

Theſe gentlemen were received by another of the king's brothers, who conducted them to the council-

council-houſe near the caſtle, in which they were directed to walk: there they found threeſcore old men, privy counſellors to the king, and on each ſide of the door without ſtood four old men of foreign countries, who ſerved as interpreters in commerce.

In a ſhort time the king came from the caſtle, dreſſed in cloth of gold, with his hair woven into gold rings, a chain of gold upon his neck, and on his hands rings very artificially ſet with diamonds and jewels of great value; over his head was born a rich canopy; and by his chair of ſtate, on which he ſat down when he had entered the houſe, ſtood a page with a fan ſet with ſapphires, to moderate the exceſs of the heat. Here he received the compliments of the Engliſh, and then honourably diſmiſſed them.

The caſtle, which they had ſome opportunity of obſerving, ſeemed of no great force: it was built by the Portugueſe, who, attempting to reduce this kingdom into an abſolute ſubjection, murdered the king, and intended to purſue their ſcheme by the deſtruction of all his ſons; but the general abhorrence, which cruelty and perfidy naturally excites, armed all the nation againſt them, and procured their total expulſion from all the dominions of Ternate, which from that time increaſing in power, continued to make new conqueſts, and to deprive them of other acquiſitions.

While they lay before Ternate, a gentleman came on board attended by his interpreter. He was dreſſed ſomewhat in the European manner, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the natives of Ternate,

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nate, or any country that they had ſeen, by his civility and apprehenſion. Such a viſitant may eaſily be imagined to excite their curioſity, which he gratified by informing them that he was a native of China, of the family of the king then reigning; and that being accuſed of a capital crime, of which, though he was innocent, he had not evidence to clear himſelf, he had petitioned the king that he might not be expoſed to a trial, but that his cauſe might be referred to Divine Providence, and that he might be allowed to leave his country, with a prohibition againſt returning, unleſs Heaven, in atteſtation of his innocence, ſhould enable him to bring back to the king ſome intelligence that might be to the honour and advantage of the empire of China. In ſearch of ſuch information he had now ſpent three years, and had left Tidore for the ſake of converſing with the Engliſh general, from whom he hoped to receive ſuch accounts as would enable him to return with honour and ſafety.

Drake willingly recounted all his adventures and obſervations; to which the Chineſe exile liſtened with the utmoſt attention and delight, and having fixed them in his mind, thanked God for the knowledge he had gained. He then propoſed to the Engliſh general to conduct him to China, recounting, by way of invitation, the wealth, extent, and felicity of that empire; but Drake could not be induced to prolong his voyage.

He therefore ſet ſail on the 9th of November in queſt of ſome convenient harbour, in a deſert iſland, to refit his ſhip, not being willing, as it ſeems, to truſt the generoſity of the king of Ternate. Five days afterwards

afterwards he found a very commodious harbour in an iſland overgrown with wood, where he repaired his veſſel and refreſhed his men without danger or interruption.

Leaving this place the 12th of December, they ſailed towards the Celebes; but, having a wind not very favourable, they were detained among a multitude of iſlands, mingled with dangerous ſhallows, till January 9, 1580. When they thought themſelves clear and were ſailing forwards with a ſtrong gale, they were at the beginning of the night ſurprized in their courſe by a ſudden ſhock, of which the cauſe was eaſily diſcovered, for they were thrown upon a ſhoal, and by the ſpeed of their courſe fixed too faſt for any hope of eſcaping. Here even the intrepidity of Drake was ſhaken, and his dexterity baffled; but his piety, however, remained ſtill the ſame, and what he could not now promiſe himſelf from his own ability, he hoped from the aſſiſtance of Providence. The pump was plied, and the ſhip found free from new leaks.

The next attempt was to diſcover towards the ſea ſome place where they might fix their boat, and from thence drag the ſhip into deep water; but upon examination it appeared that the rock, on which they had ſtruck, roſe perpendicularly from the water, and that there was no anchorage, nor any bottom to be found a boat's length from the ſhip. But this diſcovery, with its conſequences, was by Drake wiſely concealed from the common ſailors, leſt they ſhould abandon themſelves to deſpair, for which there was, indeed, cauſe; there being no proſpect left but that they muſt there ſink with the ſhip, which

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muſt undoubtedly be ſoon daſhed to pieces, or periſh in attempting to reach the ſhore in their boat, or be cut in pieces by barbarians if they ſhould arrive at land.

In the midſt of this perplexity and diſtreſs Drake directed that the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered, and his men fortified with all the conſolation which religion affords; then perſuaded them to lighten the veſſel by throwing into the ſea part of their lading, which was chearfully complied with, but without effect. At length, when their hopes had forſaken them, and no new ſtruggles could be made, they were on a ſudden relieved by a remiſſion of the wind, which, having hitherto blown ſtrongly againſt the ſide of the ſhip which lay towards the ſea, held it upright againſt the rock; but when the blaſt ſlakened (being then low water), the ſhip lying higher with that part which reſted on the rock than with the other, and being borne up no longer by the wind, reeled into the deep water, to the ſurprize and joy of Drake and his companions.

This was the greateſt and moſt inextricable diſtreſs which they had ever ſuffered, and made ſuch an impreſſion upon their minds, that for ſome time afterwards they durſt not adventure to ſpread their ſails, but went ſlowly forward with the utmoſt circumſpection.

They thus continued their courſe without any obſervable occurrence, till on the 11th of March they came to anchor before the iſland of Java, and, ſending to the king a preſent of cloth and ſilks, received from him, in return, a large quantity

tity of provifions; and the day following Drake went himfelf on fhore, and entertained the king with his mufick, and obtained leave to ftore his fhip with provifions.

The ifland is governed by a great number of petty kings, or raias, fubordinate to one chief; of thefe princes three came on board together a few days after their arrival; and, having upon their return recounted the wonders which they had feen, and the civility with which they had been treated, incited others to fatisfy their curiofity in the fame manner; and Raia Donan, the chief king, came himfelf to view the fhip, with the warlike armaments and inftruments of navigation.

This intercourfe of civilities fomewhat retarded the bufinefs for which they came; but at length they not only victualled their fhip, but cleanfed the bottom, which, in the long courfe, was overgrown with a kind of fhell-fifh that impeded her paffage.

Leaving Java on March 26, they failed homewards by the Cape of Good Hope, which they faw on June the 5th; on the 15th of Auguft paffed the Tropic; and on the 26th of September arrived at Plymouth, where they found that, by paffing through fo many different climates, they had loft a day in their account of time, it being Sunday by their journals, but Monday by the general computation.

In this hazardous voyage they had fpent two years, ten months, and fome odd days; but were recompenfed for their toils by great riches, and the univerfal

universal applause of their countrymen. Drake afterwards brought his ship up to Deptford, where queen Elizabeth visited him on board his ship, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon him; an honour in that illustrious reign not made cheap by prostitution, nor even bestowed without uncommon merit.

It is not necessary to give an account equally particular of the remaining part of his life, as he was no longer a private man, but engaged in publick affairs, and associated in his expeditions with other generals, whose attempts, and the success of them, are related in the histories of those times.

In 1585, on the 12th of September, Sir Francis Drake set sail from Plymouth with a fleet of five and twenty ships and pinnaces, of which himself was admiral, Captain Martin Forbisher vice-admiral, and Captain Francis Knollis rear-admiral: they were fitted out to cruize upon the Spaniards; and having touched at the isle of Bayonne, and plundered Vigo, put to sea again, and on the 16th of November arrived before St. Jago, which they entered without resistance, and rested there fourteen days, visiting in the mean time San Domingo, a town within the land, which they found likewise deserted; and, carrying off what they pleased of the produce of the island, they at their departure destroyed the town and villages, in revenge of the murder of one of their boys, whose body they found mangled in a most inhuman manner.

From this island they pursued their voyage to the West-Indies, determining to attack St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, as the richest place in that part of the

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world: they therefore landed a thoufand men, and with fmall lofs entered the town, of which they kept poffeffion for a month without interruption or alarm; during which time a remarkable accident happened which deferves to be related.

Drake, having fome intention of treating with the Spaniards, fent to them a negro-boy with a flag of truce, which one of the Spaniards fo little regarded, that he ftabbed him through the body with a lance. The boy, notwithftanding his wound, came back to the general, related the treatment which he had found, and died in his fight. Drake was fo incenfed at this outrage, that he ordered two friars, then his prifoners, to be conveyed with a guard to the place where the crime was committed, and hanged up in the fight of the Spaniards, declaring that two Spanifh prifoners fhould undergo the fame death every day, till the offender fhould be delivered up by them: they were too well acquainted with the character of Drake not to bring him on the day following, when, to imprefs the fhame of fuch actions more effectually upon them, he compelled them to execute him with their own hands. Of this town, at their departure, they demolifhed part, and admitted the reft to be ranfomed for five and twenty thoufand ducats.

From thence they failed to Carthagena, where the enemy having received intelligence of the fate of St. Domingo, had ftrengthened their fortifications, and prepared to defend themfelves with great obftinacy; but the Englifh, landing in the night, came upon them by a way which they did not fufpect, and being

being better armed, partly by ſurprize, and partly by ſuperiority of order and valour, became maſters of the place, where they ſtayed without fear or danger ſix weeks, and at their departure received an hundred and ten thouſand ducats, for the ranſom of the town.

They afterwards took St. Auguſtin, and, touching at Virginia, took on board the governor, Mr. Lane, with the Engliſh that had been left there the year before by Sir Walter Raleigh, and arrived at Portſmouth on July 28, 1586, having loſt in the voyage ſeven hundred and fifty men. The gain of this expedition amounted to ſixty thouſand pounds, of which forty were the ſhare of the adventurers who fitted out the ſhips, and the reſt, diſtributed among the ſeveral crews, amounted to ſix pounds each man. So cheaply is life ſometimes hazarded.

The tranſactions againſt the Armada, 1588, are in themſelves far more memorable, but leſs neceſſary to be recited in this ſuccinct narrative; only let it be remembered, that the poſt of vice-admiral of England, to which Sir Francis Drake was then raiſed, is a ſufficient proof, that no obſcurity of birth, or meanneſs of fortune, is unſurmountable to bravery and diligence.

In 1595 Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were ſent with a fleet to the Weſt-Indies, which expedition was only memorable for the deſtruction of Nombre de Dios, and the death of the two commanders, of whom Sir Francis Drake died January 9, 1597, and was thrown into the ſea in a leaden coffin, with all the pomp of naval obſequies. It is reported

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by ſome that the ill ſucceſs of this voyage haſtened his death. Upon what this conjecture is grounded does not appear; and we may be allowed to hope, for the honour of ſo great a man, that it is without foundation; and that he, whom no ſeries of ſucceſs could ever betray to vanity or negligence, could have ſupported a change of fortune without impatience or dejection.

BARRETIER*.

HAVING not been able to procure materials for a compleat life of Mr. Barretier, and being neverthelefs willing to gratify the curiofity juftly raifed in the publick by his uncommon attainments, we think the following extracts of letters, written by his father, proper to be inferted in our collection, as they contain many remarkable paffages, and exhibit a general view of his genius and learning.

JOHN PHILIP BARRETIER was born at Schwabach, January 19, 1720-21. His father was a Calvinift minifter of that place, who took upon himfelf the care of his education. What arts of inftruction he ufed, or by what method he regulated the ftudies of his fon, we are not able to inform the publick; but take this opportunity of intreating thofe, who have received more compleat intelligence, not to deny mankind fo great a benefit as the improvement of education. If Mr. Le Fevre thought the method in which he taught his children, worthy to be communicated to the learned world, how juftly may Mr. Barretier claim the univerfal attention of mankind to

* This article was firft printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1740.

a ſcheme of education that has produced ſuch a ſtupendous progreſs! The authors, who have endeavoured to teach certain and unfailing rules for obtaining a long life, however they have failed in their attempts, are univerſally confeſſed to have, at leaſt, the merit of a great and noble deſign, and to have deſerved gratitude and honour. How much more then is due to Mr. Barretier, who has ſucceeded in what they have only attempted? for to prolong life, and improve it, are nearly the ſame. If to have all that riches can purchaſe, is to be rich; if to do all that can be done in a long time, is to live long; he is equally a benefactor to mankind, who teaches them to protract the duration, or ſhorten the buſineſs of life.

That there are few things more worthy our curioſity than this method, by which the father aſſiſted the genius of the ſon, every man will be convinced, that conſiders the early proficiency at which it enabled him to arrive; ſuch a proficiency as no one has yet reached at the ſame age, and to which it is therefore probable that every advantageous circumſtance concurred.

At the age of nine years, he not only was maſter of five languages, an attainment in itſelf almoſt incredible, but underſtood, ſays his father, the holy writers, better in their original tongues, than in his own. If he means by this aſſertion, that he knew the ſenſe of many paſſages in the original, which were obſcure in the tranſlation, the account, however wonderful, may be admitted; but if he intends to tell his correſpondent, that his ſon was better acquainted with the two languages of the Bible, than with his own,

he muſt be allowed to ſpeak hyperbolically, or to admit that his ſon had ſomewhat neglected the ſtudy of his native language; or we muſt own, that the fondneſs of a parent has tranſported him into ſome natural exaggerations.

Part of this letter I am tempted to ſuppreſs, being unwilling to demand the belief of others to that which appears incredible to myſelf; but as my incredulity may, perhaps, be the product rather of prejudice than reaſon, as envy may beget a diſinclination to admit ſo immenſe a ſuperiority, and as an account is not to be immediately cenſured as falſe, merely becauſe it is wonderful, I ſhall proceed to give the reſt of his father's relation, from his letter of the 3d of March 1729-30. He ſpeaks, continues he, German, Latin, and French, equally well. He can, by laying before him a tranſlation, read any of the books of the Old or New Teſtament in its original language, without heſitation or perplexity. He is no ſtranger to biblical criticiſm or philoſophy, nor unacquainted with ancient or modern geography, and is qualified to ſupport a converſation with learned men, who frequently viſit and correſpond with him.

In his eleventh year, he not only publiſhed a learned letter in Latin, but tranſlated the travels of Rabbi Benjamin from the Hebrew into French, which he illuſtrated with notes, and accompanied with diſſertations; a work in which his father, as he himſelf declares, could give him little aſſiſtance, as he did not underſtand the rabbinical dialect.

The reaſon, for which his father engaged him in this work, was only to prevail upon him to write a fairer hand than he had hitherto accuſtomed himſelf

to do, by giving him hopes, that, if he ſhould tranſlate ſome little author, and offer a fair copy of his verſion to ſome bookſeller, he might, in return for it, have other books which he wanted and could not afford to purchaſe.

Incited by this expectation, he fixed upon the "Travels of Rabbi Benjamin," as moſt proper for his purpoſe, being a book neither bulky nor common, and in one month completed his tranſlation, applying only one or two hours a day to that particular taſk. In another month, he drew up the principal notes; and, in the third, wrote ſome diſſertations upon particular paſſages which ſeemed to require a larger examination.

Theſe notes contain ſo many curious remarks and enquiries, out of the common road of learning, and afford ſo many inſtances of penetration, judgment, and accuracy, that the reader finds in every page ſome reaſon to perſuade him that they cannot poſſibly be the work of a child, but of a man long accuſtomed to theſe ſtudies, enlightened by reflection, and dextrous by long practice in the uſe of books. Yet, that it is the performance of a boy thus young, is not only proved by the teſtimony of his father, but by the concurrent evidence of Mr. Le Maitre, his aſſociate in the church of Schwabach, who not only aſſerts his claim to this work, but affirms that he heard him at ſix years of age explain the Hebrew text as if it had been his native language; ſo that the fact is not to be doubted without a degree of incredulity, which it will not be very eaſy to defend.

This copy was however far from being written with the neatneſs which his father deſired; nor did the

the bookſellers, to whom it was offered, make propoſals very agreeable to the expectations of the young tranſlator; but after having examined the performance in their manner, and determined to print it upon conditions not very advantageous, returned it to be tranſcribed, that the printers might not be embarraſſed with a copy ſo difficult to read.

Barretier was now advanced to the latter end of his twelfth year, and had made great advances in his ſtudies, notwithſtanding an obſtinate tumour in his left hand, which gave him great pain, and obliged him to a tedious and troubleſome method of cure; and reading over his performance, was ſo far from contenting himſelf with barely tranſcribing it, that he altered the greateſt part of the notes, new-modelled the diſſertations, and augmented the book to twice its former bulk.

The few touches which his father beſtowed upon the reviſal of the book, though they are minutely ſet down by him in the preface, are ſo inconſiderable that it is not neceſſary to mention them; and it may be much more agreeable, as well as uſeful, to exhibit the ſhort account which he there gives of the method by which he enabled his ſon to ſhew ſo early how eaſy an attainment is the knowledge of the languages, a knowledge which ſome men ſpend their lives in cultivating, to the neglect of more valuable ſtudies, and which they ſeem to regard as the higheſt perfection of human nature.

What applauſes are due to an old age, waſted in a ſcrupulous attention to particular accents and etymologies, may appear, ſays his father, by ſeeing how little time is required to arrive at ſuch an eminence in theſe

thefe ftudies as many even of thofe venerable doctors have not attained, for want of rational methods and regular application.

This cenfure is doubtlefs juft upon thofe who fpend too much of their lives upon ufelefs niceties, or who appear to labour without making any progrefs; but as the knowledge of language is neceffary, and a minute accuracy fometimes requifite, they are by no means to be blamed, who, in compliance with the particular bent of their own minds, make the difficulties of dead languages their chief ftudy, and arrive at excellence proportionate to their application, fince it was to the labour of fuch men that his fon was indebted for his own learning.

The firft languages which Barretier learned were the French, German, and Latin, which he was taught not in the common way by a multitude of definitions, rules, and exceptions, which fatigue the attention and burthen the memory, without any ufe proportionate to the time which they require, and the difguft which they create. The method by which he was inftructed was eafy and expeditious, and therefore pleafing. He learned them all in the fame manner, and almoft at the fame time, by converfing in them indifferently with his father.

The other languages of which he was mafter, he learned by a method yet more uncommon. The only book which he made ufe of was the Bible, which his father laid before him in the language that he then propofed to learn, accompanied with a tranflation, being taught by degrees the inflections of nouns and verbs. This method, fays his father, made the Latin more familiar to him in his fourth year than any other language.

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When he was near the end of his fixth year, he entered upon the ftudy of the Old Teftament in its original language, beginning with the book of Genefis, to which his father confined him for fix months; after which he read curforily over the reft of the hiftorical books, in which he found very little difficulty, and then applied himfelf to the ftudy of the poetical writers, and the prophets, which he read over fo often, with fo clofe an attention and fo happy a memory, that he could not only tranflate them without a moment's hefitation into Latin or French, but turn with the fame facility the tranflations into the original language in his tenth year.

Growing at length weary of being confined to a book which he could almoft entirely repeat, he deviated by ftealth into other ftudies, and, as his tranflation of Benjamin is a fufficient evidence, he read a multitude of writers of various kinds. In his twelfth year he applied more particularly to the ftudy of the fathers, and councils of the fix firft centuries, and began to make a regular collection of their canons. He read every author in the original, having difcovered fo much negligence or ignorance in moft tranflations, that he paid no regard to their authority.

Thus he continued his ftudies, neither drawn afide by pleafures nor difcouraged by difficulties. The greateft obftacle to his improvement was want of books, with which his narrow fortune could not liberally fupply him; fo that he was obliged to borrow the greateft part of thofe which his ftudies required, and to return them when he had read them, without being able to confult them occafionally, or to recur to them when his memory fhould fail him.

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It is obſervable, that neither his diligence, unintermitted as it was, nor his want of books, a want of which he was in the higheſt degree ſenſible, ever produced in him that aſperity, which a long and recluſe life, without any circumſtance of diſquiet, frequently creates. He was always gay, lively, and facetious, a temper which contributed much to recommend his learning, and which ſome ſtudents much ſuperior in age would conſult their eaſe, their reputation, and their intereſt, by copying from him.

In the year 1735 he publiſhed *Anti-Artemonius, ſive Initium Evangelii S. Joannis, adverſus Artemonium vindicatum*, and attained ſuch a degree of reputation, that not only the publick, but princes, who are commonly the laſt by whom merit is diſtinguiſhed, began to intereſt themſelves in his ſucceſs, for the ſame year the king of Pruſſia, who had heard of his early advances in literature on account of a ſcheme for diſcovering the longitude, which had been ſent to the Royal Society of Berlin, and which was tranſmitted afterwards by him to Paris and London, engaged to take care of his fortune, having received further proofs of his abilities at his own court.

Mr. Barretier, being promoted to the cure of the church of Stetin, was obliged to travel with his ſon thither from Schwabach, through Leipſic and Berlin, a journey very agreeable to his ſon, as it would furniſh him with new opportunities of improving his knowledge, and extending his acquaintance among men of letters. For this purpoſe they ſtaid ſome time at Leipſic, and then travelled to Hall, where young Barretier ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his converſation with the profeſſors of the univerſity, that they

they offered him his degree of doctor in philoſophy, a dignity correſpondent to that of maſter of arts among us. Barretier drew up that night ſome poſitions in philoſophy, and the mathematicks, which he ſent immediately to the preſs, and defended the next day in a crouded auditory, with ſo much wit, ſpirit, preſence of thought, and ſtrength of reaſon, that the whole univerſity was delighted and amazed; he was then admitted to his degree, and attended by the whole concourſe to his lodgings, with compliments and acclamations.

His *Theſes* or philoſophical poſitions, which he printed in compliance with the practice of that univerſity, ran through ſeveral editions in a few weeks, and no teſtimony of regard was wanting that could contribute to animate him in his progreſs.

When they arrived at Berlin, the king ordered him to be brought into his preſence, and was ſo much pleaſed with his converſation, that he ſent for him almoſt every day during his ſtay at Berlin; and diverted himſelf with engaging him in converſations upon a multitude of ſubjects, and in diſputes with learned men; on all which occaſions he acquitted himſelf ſo happily, that the king formed the higheſt ideas of his capacity, and future eminence. And thinking, perhaps with reaſon, that active life was the nobleſt ſphere of a great genius, he recommended to him the ſtudy of modern hiſtory, the cuſtoms of nations, and thoſe parts of learning, that are of uſe in publick tranſactions and civil employments, declaring that ſuch abilities properly cultivated might exalt him, in ten years, to be the greateſt miniſter of ſtate in Europe. Barretier, whether we attribute it to his moderation or inexperience, was not dazzled by the

the profpect of fuch high promotion, but anfwered, that he was too much pleafed with fcience and quiet, to leave them for fuch inextricable ftudies, or fuch haraffing fatigues. A refolution fo unpleafing to the king, that his father attributes to it the delay of thofe favours which they had hopes of receiving, the king having, as he obferves, determined to employ him in the miniftry.

It is not impoffible that paternal affection might fuggeft to Mr. Barretier fome falfe conceptions of the king's defigns; for he infers from the introduction of his fon to the young princes, and the careffes which he received from them, that the king intended him for their preceptor; a fcheme, fays he, which fome other refolution happily deftroyed.

Whatever was originally intended, and by whatever means thefe intentions were fruftrated; Barretier, after having been treated with the higheft regard by the whole royal family, was difmiffed with a prefent of two hundred crowns; and his father, inftead of being fixed at Stetin, was made paftor of the French church at Hall; a place more commodious for ftudy, to which they retired; Barretier being firft admitted into the Royal Society at Berlin, and recommended by the king to the univerfity at Hall.

At Hall he continued his ftudies with his ufual application and fuccefs, and, either by his own reflections or the perfuafions of his father, was prevailed upon to give up his own inclinations to thofe of the king, and direct his enquiries to thofe fubjects that had been recommended by him.

He continued to add new acquifitions to his learning, and to encreafe his reputation by new performances, till, in the beginning of his nineteenth year, his

his health began to decline, and his indiſpoſition, which, being not alarming or violent, was perhaps not at firſt ſufficiently regarded, increaſed by ſlow degrees for eighteen months, during which he ſpent days among his books, and neither neglected his ſtudies, nor left his gaiety, till his diſtemper, ten days before his death, deprived him of the uſe of his limbs: he then prepared himſelf for his end, without fear or emotion, and on the 5th of October 1740, reſigned his ſoul into the hands of his Saviour, with confidence and tranquillity.

MORIN*.

LEWIS MORIN was born at Mans, on the 11th of July 1635, of parents eminent for their piety. He was the eldeſt of ſixteen children, a family to which their eſtate bore no proportion, and which, in perſons leſs reſigned to Providence, would have cauſed great uneaſineſs and anxiety.

His parents omitted nothing in his education, which religion requires, and which their fortune could ſupply. Botany was the ſtudy that appeared to have taken poſſeſſion of his inclination, as ſoon as the bent of his genius could be diſcovered. A countryman, who ſupplied the apothecaries of the place, was his firſt maſter, and was paid by him for his inſtructions with the little money that he could procure, or that which was given him to buy ſomething to eat after dinner. Thus abſtinence and generoſity diſcovered themſelves with his paſſion for botany, and the gratification of a deſire indifferent in itſelf was procured by the exerciſe of two virtues.

He was ſoon maſter of all his inſtructor's knowledge, and was obliged to enlarge his acquaintance

* Tranſlated from an eloge by Fontenelle, and firſt printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1741.

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with plants, by obſerving them himſelf in the neighbourhood of Mans. Having finiſhed his grammatical ſtudies, he was ſent to learn philoſophy at Paris, whither he travelled on foot like a ſtudent in botany, and was careful not to loſe ſuch an opportunity of improvement.

When his courſe of philoſophy was completed, he was determined, by his love of botany, to the profeſſion of phyſick, and from that time engaged in a courſe of life, which was never exceeded either by the oſtentation of a philoſopher, or the ſeverity of an anchoret; for he confined himſelf to bread and water, and at moſt allowed himſelf no indulgence beyond fruits. By this method, he preſerved a conſtant freedom and ſerenity of ſpirits, always equally proper for ſtudy; for his ſoul had no pretences to complain of being overwhelmed with matter.

This regimen, extraordinary as it was, had many advantages; for it preſerved his health, an advantage which very few ſufficiently regard; it gave him an authority to preach diet and abſtinence to his patients; and it made him rich without the aſſiſtance of fortune; rich, not for himſelf, but for the poor, who were the only perſons benefited by that artificial affluence, which, of all others, is moſt difficult to acquire. It is eaſy to imagine, that, while he practiſed in the midſt of Paris the ſevere temperance of a hermit, Paris differed no otherwiſe with regard to him, from a hermitage, than as it ſupplied him with books, and the converſation of learned men.

In 1662 he was admitted doctor of phyſick. About that time Dr. Fagon, Dr. Longuet, and Dr. Galois, all eminent for their ſkill in botany, were employed

in drawing up a catalogue of the plants in the Royal Garden, which was publiſhed in 1665, under the name of Dr. Vallot, then firſt phyſician: during the proſecution of this work, Dr. Morin was often conſulted, and from thoſe converſations it was that Dr. Fagon conceived a particular eſteem of him, which he always continued to retain.

After having practiſed phyſic ſome years, he was admitted Expectant at the Hotel Dieu, where he was regularly to have been made Penſionary phyſician upon the firſt vacancy; but mere unaſſiſted merit advances ſlowly, if, what is not very common, it advances at all. Morin had no acquaintance with the arts neceſſary to carry on ſchemes of preferment; the moderation of his deſires preſerved him from the neceſſity of ſtudying them, and the privacy of his life debarred him from any opportunity.

At laſt, however, juſtice was done him in ſpite of artifice and partiality; but his advancement added nothing to his condition, except the power of more extenſive charity; for all the money which he received as a ſalary, he put into the cheſt of the hoſpital, always, as he imagined, without being obſerved. Not content with ſerving the poor for nothing, he paid them for being ſerved.

His reputation roſe ſo high in Paris, that madamoiſelle de Guiſe was deſirous to make him her phyſician, but it was not without difficulty that he was prevailed upon by his friend, Dr. Dodart, to accept the place. He was by this new advancement laid under the neceſſity of keeping a chariot, an equipage very unſuitable to his temper; but while he complied with thoſe exterior appearances which

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the publick had a right to demand from him, he remitted nothing of his former austerity in the more private and essential parts of his life, which he had always the power of regulating according to his own disposition.

In two years and a half the princess fell sick, and was despaired of by Morin, who was a great master of prognosticks. At the time when she thought herself in no danger, he pronounced her death inevitable; a declaration to the highest degree disagreeable, but which was made more easy to him than to any other by his piety and artless simplicity. Nor did his sincerity produce any ill consequences to himself; for the princess, affected by his zeal, taking a ring from her finger, gave it him as the last pledge of her affection, and rewarded him still more to his satisfaction, by preparing for death with a true Christian piety. She left him by will an yearly pension of two thousand livres, which was always regularly paid him.

No sooner was the princess dead, but he freed himself from the incumbrance of his chariot, and retired to St. Victor without a servant, having, however, augmented his daily allowance with a little rice boiled in water.

Dodart, who had undertaken the charge of being ambitious on his account, procured him, at the restoration of the academy in 1699, to be nominated associate botanist; not knowing, what he would doubtless have been pleased with the knowledge of, that he introduced into that assembly the man that was to succeed him in his place of Pensionary.

Dr. Morin was not one who had upon his hands the labour of adapting himſelf to the duties of his condition, but always found himſelf naturally adapted to them. He had, therefore, no difficulty in being conſtant at the aſſemblies of the academy, notwithſtanding the diſtance of places, while he had ſtrength enough to ſupport the journey. But his regimen was not equally effectual to produce vigour as to prevent diſtempers; and being 64 years old at his admiſſion, he could not continue his aſſiduity more than a year after the death of Dodart, whom he ſucceeded in 1707.

When Mr. Tournefort went to purſue his botanical enquiries in the Levant, he deſired Dr. Morin to ſupply his place of Demonſtrator of the Plants in the Royal Garden, and rewarded him for the trouble, by inſcribing to him a new plant which he brought from the eaſt, by the name of *Morina Orientalis*, as he named others the *Dodarto*, the *Fagonne*, the *Bignonne*, the *Phelipee*. Theſe are compliments proper to be made by the botaniſts, not only to thoſe of their own rank, but to the greateſt perſons; for a plant is a monument of a more durable nature than a medal or an obeliſk; and yet, as a proof that even theſe vehicles are not always ſufficient to tranſmit to futurity the name conjoined with them, the *Nicotiana* is now ſcarcely known by any other term than that of tobacco.

Dr. Morin advancing far in age, was now forced to take a ſervant, and, what was yet a more eſſential alteration, prevailed upon himſelf to take an ounce of wine a day, which he meaſured with the ſame exactneſs

neſs as a medicine bordering upon poiſon. He quitted at the ſame time all his practice in the city, and confined it to the poor of his neighbourhood, and his viſits at the Hotel Dieu; but his weakneſs increaſing, he was forced to increaſe his quantity of wine, which yet he always continued to adjuſt by weight*.

At 78 his legs could carry him no longer, and he ſcarcely left his bed; but his intellects continued unimpaired, except in the laſt ſix months of his life. He expired, or, to uſe a more proper term, went out, on the firſt of March 1714, at the age of 80 years, without any diſtemper, and merely for want of ſtrength, having enjoyed by the benefit of his regimen a long and healthy life, and a gentle and eaſy death.

This extraordinary regimen was but part of the daily regulation of his life, of which all the offices were carried on with a regularity and exactneſs nearly approaching to that of the planetary motions.

He went to bed at ſeven, and roſe at two, throughout the year. He ſpent in the morning three hours at his devotions, and went to the Hotel Dieu in the ſummer between five and ſix, and in the winter between ſix and ſeven, hearing maſs for the moſt

* The practice of Dr. Morin is forbidden, I believe, by every writer that has left rules for the preſervation of health, and is directly oppoſite to that of Cornaro, who by his regimen repaired a broken conſtitution, and protracted his life, without any painful infirmities, or any decay of his intellectual abilities, to more than a hundred years; it is generally agreed, that as men advance in years, they ought to take lighter ſuſtenance, and in leſs quantities; and reaſon ſeems eaſily to diſcover that as the concoctive powers grow weaker, they ought to labour leſs. *Orig. Edit.*

part at Notre Dame. After his return he read the holy ſcripture, dined at eleven, and when it was fair weather walked till two in the royal garden, where he examined the new plants, and gratified his earlieſt and ſtrongeſt paſſion. For the remaining part of the day, if he had no poor to viſit, he ſhut himſelf up, and read books of literature or phyſick, but chiefly phyſick, as the duty of his profeſſion required. This likewiſe was the time he received viſits, if any were paid him. He often uſed this expreſſion, "Thoſe "that come to ſee me, do me honour; and thoſe "that ſtay away, do me a favour." It is eaſy to conceive that a man of this temper was not crowded with ſalutations: there was only now and then an Antony that would pay Paul a viſit.

Among his papers was found a Greek and Latin index to Hippocrates, more copious and exact than that of Pini, which he had finiſhed only a year before his death. Such a work required the aſſiduity and patience of an hermit *.

There is likewiſe a journal of the weather, kept without interruption, for more than forty years, in which he has accurately ſet down the ſtate of the barometer and thermometer, the dryneſs and moiſture of the air, the variations of the wind in the courſe of the day, the rain, the thunders, and even the ſudden ſtorms, in a very commodious and conciſe method, which exhibits, in a little room, a great train of different obſervations. What numbers of ſuch remarks

* This is an inſtance of the diſpoſition generally found in writers of lives, to exalt every common occurrence and action into wonders. Are not indexes daily written by men who neither receive nor expect very loud applauſes for their labours? *Orig. Edit.*

had

had escaped a man less uniform in his life, and whose attention had been extended to common objects!

All the estate which he left is a collection of medals, another of herbs, and a library rated at two thousand crowns. Which make it evident that he spent much more upon his mind than upon his body.

B U R M A N*.

PETER BURMAN was born at Utrecht, on the 26th day of June 1668. The family from which he descended has for several generations produced men of great eminence for piety and learning; and his father, who was professor of divinity in the university, and pastor of the city of Utrecht, was equally celebrated for the strictness of his life, the efficacy and orthodoxy of his sermons, and the learning and perspicuity of his academical lectures.

From the assistance and instruction which such a father would doubtless have been encouraged by the genius of this son not to have omitted, he was unhappily cut off at eleven years of age, being at that time by his father's death thrown entirely under the care of his mother, by whose diligence, piety, and prudence, his education was so regulated, that he had scarcely any reason, but filial tenderness, to regret the loss of his father.

He was about this time sent to the public school of Utrecht to be instructed in the learned languages; and it will convey no common idea of his capacity and industry to relate, that he had passed through the

* First printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1742.

claſſes, and was admitted into the univerſity in his thirteenth year.

This account of the rapidity of his progreſs in the firſt part of his ſtudies is ſo ſtupendous, that though it is atteſted by his friend, Dr. Oſterdyke, of whom it cannot be reaſonably ſuſpected that he is himſelf deceived, or that he can deſire to deceive others, it muſt be allowed far to exceed the limits of probability if it be conſidered, with regard to the methods of education practiſed in our country, where it is not uncommon for the higheſt genius, and moſt comprehenſive capacity, to be entangled for ten years, in thoſe thorny paths of literature, which Burman is repreſented to have paſſed in leſs than two; and we muſt doubtleſs confeſs the moſt ſkilful of our maſters much excelled by the addreſs of the Dutch teachers, or the abilities of our greateſt ſcholars far ſurpaſſed by thoſe of Burman.

But, to reduce this narrative to credibility, it is neceſſary that admiration ſhould give place to inquiry, and that it be diſcovered what proficiency in literature is expected from a ſtudent, requeſting to be admitted into a Dutch univerſity. It is to be obſerved that in the univerſities in foreign countries, they have profeſſors of philology, or humanity, whoſe employment is to inſtruct the younger claſſes in grammar, rhetorick, and languages; nor do they engage in the ſtudy of philoſophy, till they have paſſed through a courſe of philological lectures and exerciſes, to which, in ſome places, two years are commonly allotted.

The Engliſh ſcheme of education, which with regard to academical ſtudies is more vigorous, and ſets

literary honours at a higher price than that of any other country, exacts from the youth, who are initiated in our colleges, a degree of philological knowledge sufficient to qualify them for lectures in philosophy, which are read to them in Latin, and to enable them to proceed in other studies without assistance; so that it may be conjectured, that Burman, at his entrance into the university, had no such skill in languages, nor such ability of composition, as are frequently to be met with in the higher classes of an English school; nor was perhaps more than moderately skilled in Latin, and taught the first rudiments in Greek.

In the university he was committed to the care of the learned Grævius, whose regard for his father inclined him to superintend his studies with more than common attention, which was soon confirmed and increased by his discoveries of the genius of his pupil, and his observation of his diligence.

One of the qualities which contributed eminently to qualify Grævius for an instructor of youth, was the sagacity by which he readily discovered the predominant faculty of each pupil, and the peculiar designation by which nature had allotted him to any species of literature, and by which he was soon able to determine, that Burman was remarkably adapted to classical studies, and predict the great advances that he would make, by industriously pursuing the direction of his genius.

Animated by the encouragement of a tutor so celebrated, he continued the vigour of his application, and, for several years, not only attended the lectures of Grævius, but made use of every other opportu-

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nity of improvement, with ſuch diligence, as might juſtly be expected to produce an uncommon proficiency.

Having thus attained a ſufficient degree of claſſical knowledge, to qualify him for inquiries into other ſciences, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, and publiſhed a diſſertation, "de Viceſima Hæreditatum," which he publickly defended, under the profeſſor Van Muyden, with ſuch learning and eloquence, as procured him great applauſe.

Imagining, then, that the converſation of other men of learning might be of uſe towards his farther improvement, and rightly judging, that notions formed in any ſingle ſeminary are for the greateſt part contracted and partial; he went to Leyden, where he ſtudied philoſophy for a year, under M. de Volder, whoſe celebrity was ſo great, that the ſchools aſſigned to the ſciences, which it was his province to teach, were not ſufficient, though very ſpacious, to contain the audience that crowded his lectures, from all parts of Europe.

Yet he did not ſuffer himſelf to be engroſſed by philoſophical diſquiſitions, to the neglect of thoſe ſtudies in which he was more early engaged, and to which he was perhaps by nature better adapted; for he attended at the ſame time Ryckius's explanations of Tacitus, and James Gronovius's lectures on the Greek writers, and has often been heard to acknowledge, at an advanced age, the aſſiſtance which he received from them.

Having thus paſſed a year at Leyden with great advantage, he returned to Utrecht, and once more applied himſelf to philological ſtudies, by the aſſiſt-

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ance of Græwius, whose early hopes of his genius were now raised to a full confidence of that excellence at which he afterwards arrived.

At Utrecht, in March 1688, in the twentieth year of his age, he was advanced to the degree of doctor of laws; on which occasion he published a learned dissertation, "de Transactionibus," and defended it with his usual eloquence, learning, and success.

The attainment of this honour was far from having upon Burman that effect which has been too often observed to be produced in others, who, having in their own opinion no higher object of ambition, have elapsed into idleness and security, and spent the rest of their lives in a lazy enjoyment of their academical dignities. Burman aspired to farther improvements, and, not satisfied with the opportunities of literary conversation which Utrecht afforded, travelled into Switzerland and Germany, where he gained an increase both of fame and learning.

At his return from this excursion, he engaged in the practice of the law, and pleaded several causes with such reputation, as might be hoped by a man who had joined to his knowledge of the law, the embellishments of polite literature, and the strict ratiocination of true philosophy, and who was able to employ on every occasion the graces of eloquence and the power of argumentation.

While Burman was hastening to high reputation in the courts of justice, and to those riches and honours which always follow it, he was summoned in 1691, by the magistrates of Utrecht, to undertake the charge of collector of the tenths, an office in that

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place of great honour, and which he accepted therefore as a proof of their confidence and efteem.

While he was engaged in this employment, he married Eve Clotterboke, a young lady of a good family, and uncommon genius and beauty, by whom he had ten children, of which eight died young; and only two fons, Francis and Cafpar, lived to confole their mother for their father's death.

Neither publick bufinefs, nor domeftick cares, detained Burman from the profecution of his literary enquiries; by which he fo much endeared himfelf to Græevius, that he was recommended by him to the regard of the univerfity of Utrecht, and accordingly, in 1696, was chofen profeffor of eloquence and hiftory, to which was added, after fome time, the profefforfhip of the Greek language, and afterwards that of politicks; fo various did they conceive his abilities, and fo extenfive his knowledge.

At his entrance upon this new province, he pronounced an oration upon eloquence and poetry.

Having now more frequent opportunities of difplaying his learning, he arofe, in a fhort time, to a high reputation, of which the great number of his auditors was a fufficient proof, and which the proficiency of his pupils fhewed not to be accidental or undeferved.

In 1714 he formed a refolution of vifiting Paris, not only for the fake of conferring in perfon, upon queftions of literature, with the learned men of that place, and of gratifying his curiofity with a more familiar knowledge of thofe writers whofe works he admired, but with a view more important, of vifiting the

the libraries, and making thoſe enquiries which might be of advantage to his darling ſtudy.

The vacation of the univerſity allowed him to ſtay at Paris but ſix weeks, which he employed with ſo much dexterity and induſtry, that he had ſearched the principal libraries, collated a great number of manuſcripts and printed copies, and brought back a great treaſure of curious obſervations.

In this viſit to Paris he contracted an acquaintance, among other learned men, with the celebrated father Montfaucon; with whom he converſed, at his firſt interview, with no other character but that of a traveller; but, their diſcourſe turning upon ancient learning, the ſtranger ſoon gave ſuch proofs of his attainments, that Montfaucon declared him a very uncommon traveller, and confeſſed his curioſity to know his name; which he no ſooner heard, than he roſe from his ſeat, and, embracing him with the utmoſt ardour, expreſſed his ſatisfaction at having ſeen the man whoſe productions of various kinds he had ſo often praiſed; and, as a real proof of his regard, offered not only to procure him an immediate admiſſion to all the libraries of Paris, but to thoſe in remoter provinces, which are not generally open to ſtrangers, and undertook to eaſe the expences of his journey by procuring him entertainment in all monaſteries of his order.

This favour Burman was hindered from accepting, by the neceſſity of returning to Utrecht at the uſual time of beginning a new courſe of lectures, to which there was always ſo great a concourſe of ſtudents, as much increaſed the dignity and fame of the univerſity in which he taught.

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He had already extended, to diſtant parts, his reputation for knowledge of ancient hiſtory by a treatiſe "de Vectigalibus Populi Romani," on the revenues of the Romans; and for his ſkill in Greek learning, and in ancient coins, by a tract called "Jupiter Fulgurator;" and after his return from Paris, he publiſhed "Phædrus," firſt with the notes of various commentators, and afterwards with his own. He printed many poems, and made many orations upon different ſubjects, and procured an impreſſion of the epiſtles of Gudius and Sanavius.

While he was thus employed, the profeſſorſhips of hiſtory, eloquence, and the Greek language, became vacant at Leyden, by the death of Perizonius, which Burman's reputation incited the curators of the univerſity to offer him upon very generous terms, and which, after ſome ſtruggles with his fondneſs for his native place, his friends, and his colleagues, he was prevailed on to accept, finding the ſolicitations from Leyden warm and urgent, and his friends at Utrecht, though unwilling to be deprived of him, yet not zealous enough for the honour and advantage of their univerſity, to endeavour to detain him by great liberality.

At his entrance upon this new profeſſorſhip, which was conferred upon him in 1715, he pronounced an oration upon the duty and office of a profeſſor of polite literature; "De publici humanioris Diſciplinæ "profeſſoris proprio officio et munere;" and ſhewed, by the uſefulneſs and perſpicuity of his lectures, that he was not confined to ſpeculative notions on that ſubject, having a very happy method of accommodating

modating his inſtructions to the different abilities and attainments of his pupils.

Nor did he ſuffer the publick duties of this ſtation to hinder him from promoting learning by labours of a different kind; for, beſides many poems and orations which he recited on different occaſions, he wrote ſeveral prefaces to the works of others, and publiſhed many uſeful editions of the beſt Latin writers, with large collections of notes from various commentators.

He was twice rector, or chief governor of the univerſity, and diſcharged that important office with equal equity and ability, and gained by his conduct in every ſtation ſo much eſteem, that when the profeſſorſhip of hiſtory of the United Provinces became vacant, it was conferred on him, as an addition to his honours and revenues, which he might juſtly claim; and afterwards, as a proof of the continuance of their regard, and a teſtimony that his reputation was ſtill increaſing, they made him chief librarian, an office which was the more acceptable to him, as it united his buſineſs with his pleaſure, and gave him an opportunity at the ſame time of ſuperintending the library, and carrying on his ſtudies.

Such was the courſe of his life, till, in his old age, leaving off his practice of walking and other exerciſes, he began to be afflicted with the ſcurvy, which diſcovered itſelf by very tormenting ſymptoms of various kinds; ſometimes diſturbing his head with vertigos, ſometimes cauſing faintneſs in his limbs, and ſometimes attacking his legs with anguiſh ſo excruciating, that all his vigour was deſtroyed, and the power of

walking

walking entirely taken away, till at length his left foot became motionlefs. The violence of his pain produced irregular fevers, deprived him of reft, and entirely debilitated his whole frame.

This tormenting difeafe he bore, though not without fome degree of impatience, yet without any unbecoming or irrational defpondency, and applied himfelf in the intermiffion of his pains to feek for comfort in the duties of religion.

While he lay in this ftate of mifery he received an account of the promotion of two of his grandfons, and a catalogue of the king of France's library, prefented to him by the command of the king himfelf, and expreffed fome fatisfaction on all thefe occafions; but foon diverted his thoughts to the more important confideration of his eternal ftate, into which he paffed on the 31ft of March 1741, in the 73d year of his age.

He was a man of moderate ftature, of great ftrength and activity, which he preferved by temperate diet, without medical exactnefs, and by allotting proportions of his time to relaxation and amufement, not fuffering his ftudies to exhauft his ftrength, but relieving them by frequent intermiffions; a practice confiftent with the moft exemplary diligence, and which he that omits will find at laft, that time may be loft, like money, by unfeafonable avarice.

In his hours of relaxation he was gay, and fometimes gave way fo far to his temper, naturally fatirical, that he drew upon himfelf the ill-will of thofe who had been unfortunately the fubjects of his mirth; but enemies fo provoked he thought it beneath him to regard or to pacify; for he was fiery,

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but not malicious, disdained dissimulation, and in his gay or serious hours preserved a settled detestation of falsehood. So that he was an open and undisguised friend or enemy, entirely unacquainted with the artifices of flatterers, but so judicious in the choice of friends, and so constant in his affection to them, that those with whom he had contracted familiarity in his youth, had for the greatest part his confidence in his old age.

His abilities, which would probably have enabled him to have excelled in any kind of learning, were chiefly employed, as his station required, on polite literature, in which he arrived at very uncommon knowledge, which, however, appears rather from judicious compilations than original productions. His style is lively and masculine, but not without harshness and constraint, nor, perhaps, always polished to that purity which some writers have attained. He was at least instrumental to the instruction of mankind, by the publication of many valuable performances, which lay neglected by the greatest part of the learned world; and, if reputation be estimated by usefulness, he may claim a higher degree in the ranks of learning than some others of happier elocution, or more vigorous imagination.

The malice or suspicion of those who either did not know, or did not love him, had given rise to some doubts about his religion, which he took an opportunity of removing on his death-bed by a voluntary declaration of his faith, his hope of everlasting salvation from the revealed promises of God, and his confidence in the merits of our Redeemer, of the sincerity of which declaration his whole behaviour in

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his long illneſs was an inconteſtable proof; and he concluded his life, which had been illuſtrious for many virtues, by exhibiting an example of true piety.

Of his works we have not been able to procure a complete catalogue: he publiſhed,

"Quintilianus," 2 vols. 4to. "Valerius Flaccus," "Ovidius," 3 vols. 4to. "Poetæ Latini Minores," 2 vols. 4to.	Cum notis variorum.

"Buchanani Opera," 2 vols. 4to.

SYDENHAM*.

THOMAS SYDENHAM was born in the year 1624, at Winford Eagle in Dorfetfhire, where his father, William Sydenham, Efq. had a large fortune. Under whofe care he was educated, or in what manner he paffed his childhood, whether he made any early difcoveries of a genius peculiarly adapted to the ftudy of nature, or gave any prefages of his future eminence in medicine, no information is to be obtained. We muft therefore reprefs that curiofity which would naturally incline us to watch the firft attempts of fo vigorous a mind, to purfue it in its childifh enquiries, and fee it ftruggling with ruftick prejudices, breaking on trifling occafions the fhackles of credulity, and giving proofs, in its cafual excurfions, that it was formed to fhake off the yoke of prefcription, and difpel the phantoms of hypothefis.

That the ftrength of Sydenham's underftanding, the accuracy of his difcernment, and ardour of his curiofity, might have been remarked from his infancy by a diligent obferver, there is no reafon to

* Originally prefixed to the New Tranflation of Dr. Sydenham's Works, by John Swan, M. D. of Newcaftle in Staffordfhire, 1742.

doubt.

doubt. For there is no inſtance of any man, whoſe hiſtory has been minutely related, that did not in every part of life diſcover the ſame proportion of intellectual vigour; but it has been the lot of the greateſt part of thoſe who have excelled in ſcience, to be known only by their own writings, and to have left behind them no remembrance of their domeſtick life, or private tranſactions, or only ſuch memorials of particular paſſages as are, on certain occaſions, neceſſarily recorded in public regiſters.

From theſe it is diſcovered, that at the age of eighteen, in 1642, he commenced a commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford, where it is not probable that he continued long; for he informs us himſelf, that he was withheld from the univerſity by the commencement of the war; nor is it known in what ſtate of life he engaged, or where he reſided during that long ſeries of publick commotion. It is indeed reported that he had a commiſſion in the king's army, but no particular account is given of his military conduct; nor are we told what rank he obtained when he entered into the army, or when, or on what occaſion, he retired from it.

It is, however, certain, that if ever he took upon him the profeſſion of arms, he ſpent but few years in the camp; for in 1648 he obtained at Oxford the degree of batchelor of phyſick, for which, as ſome medicinal knowledge is neceſſary, it may be imagined that he ſpent ſome time in qualifying himſelf.

His application to the ſtudy of phyſick was, as he himſelf relates, produced by an accidental acquaintance with Dr. Cox, a phyſician eminent at that

time in London, who in ſome ſickneſs preſcribed to his brother, and, attending him frequently on that occaſion, enquired of him what profeſſion he deſigned to follow. The young man anſwering that he was undetermined, the Doctor recommended phyſick to him, on what account, or with what arguments, it is not related; but his perſuaſions were ſo effectual, that Sydenham determined to follow his advice, and retired to Oxford for leiſure and opportunity to purſue his ſtudies.

It is evident that this converſation muſt have happened before his promotion to any degree in phyſick, becauſe he himſelf fixes it in the interval of his abſence from the univerſity, a circumſtance which will enable us to confute many falſe reports relating to Dr. Sydenham, which have been confidently inculcated, and implicitly believed.

It is the general opinion that he was made a phyſician by accident and neceſſity, and Sir Richard Blackmore reports in plain terms [*Preface to his Treatiſe on the Small-Pox*], that he engaged in practice without any preparatory ſtudy, or previous knowledge, of the medicinal ſciences; and affirms, that, when he was conſulted by him what books he ſhould read to qualify him for the ſame profeſſion, he recommended Don Quixote.

That he recommended Don Quixote to Blackmore, we are not allowed to doubt; but the relater is hindered by that ſelf-love which dazzles all mankind from diſcovering that he might intend a ſatire very different from a general cenſure of all the ancient and modern writers on medicine, ſince he might perhaps mean, either ſeriouſly or in jeſt, to inſinuate that

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Blackmore was not adapted by nature to the ſtudy of phyſick, and that, whether he ſhould read Cervantes or Hippocrates, he would be equally unqualified for practice, and equally unſucceſsful in it.

Whatſoever was his meaning, nothing is more evident, than that it was a tranſient ſally of an imagination warmed with gaiety, or the negligent effuſion of a mind intent upon ſome other employment, and in haſte to diſmiſs a troubleſome intruder; for it is certain that Sydenham did not think it impoſſible to write uſefully on medicine, becauſe he has himſelf written upon it; and it is not probable that he carried his vanity ſo far, as to imagine that no man had ever acquired the ſame qualifications beſides himſelf. He could not but know that he rather reſtored than invented moſt of his principles, and therefore could not but acknowledge the value of thoſe writers whoſe doctrines he adopted and enforced.

That he engaged in the practice of phyſick without any acquaintance with the theory, or knowledge of the opinions or precepts of former writers, is undoubtedly falſe; for he declares, that after he had, in purſuance of his converſation with Dr. Cox, determined upon the profeſſion of phyſick, he *applied himſelf in earneſt to it*, and *ſpent ſeveral years in the univerſity* [aliquot annos in academica palæſtra], before he began to practiſe in London.

Nor was he ſatisfied with the opportunities of knowledge which Oxford afforded, but travelled to Montpellier, as Default relates [*Diſſertation on Conſumptions*], in queſt of farther information; Montpellier being at that time the moſt celebrated ſchool of phyſick: ſo far was Sydenham from any contempt

of academical inſtitutions, and ſo far from thinking it reaſonable to learn phyſick by experiments alone, which muſt neceſſarily be made at the hazard of life.

What can be demanded beyond this by the moſt zealous advocate for regular education? What can be expected from the moſt cautious and moſt induſtrious ſtudent, than that he ſhould dedicate *ſeveral years* to the rudiments of his art, and travel for further inſtructions from one univerſity to another?

It is likewiſe a common opinion, that Sydenham was thirty years old before he formed his reſolution of ſtudying phyſick, for which I can diſcover no other foundation than one expreſſion in his dedication to Dr. Mapletoft, which ſeems to have given riſe to it by a groſs miſinterpretation; for he only obſerves, that from his converſation with Dr. Cox to the publication of that treatiſe *thirty years* had intervened.

Whatever may have produced this notion, or how long ſoever it may have prevailed, it is now proved beyond controverſy to be falſe, ſince it appears that Sydenham, having been for ſome time abſent from the univerſity, returned to it in order to purſue his phyſical enquiries before he was twenty-four years old; for in 1648 he was admitted to the degree of batchelor of phyſick.

That ſuch reports ſhould be confidently ſpread, even among the contemporaries of the author to whom they relate, and obtain in a few years ſuch credit as to require a regular confutation; that it ſhould be imagined that the greateſt phyſician of the age arrived at ſo high a degree of ſkill, without any aſſiſtance from his predeceſſors; and that a man eminent

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for integrity practiſed medicine by chance, and grew wiſe only by murder; is not to be conſidered without aſtoniſhment.

But if it be, on the other part, remembered, how much this opinion favours the lazineſs of ſome, and the pride of others; how readily ſome men confide in natural ſagacity, and how willingly moſt would ſpare themſelves the labour of accurate reading and tedious enquiry; it will be eaſily diſcovered how much the intereſt of multitudes was engaged in the production and continuance of this opinion, and how cheaply thoſe, of whom it was known that they practiſed phyſick before they ſtudied it, might ſatisfy themſelves and others with the example of the illuſtrious Sydenham.

It is therefore in an uncommon degree uſeful to publiſh a true account of this memorable man, that pride, temerity, and idleneſs may be deprived of that patronage which they have enjoyed too long; that life may be ſecured from the dangerous experiments of the ignorant and preſumptuous; and that thoſe, who ſhall hereafter aſſume the important province of ſuperintending the health of others, may learn from this great maſter of the art, that the only means of arriving at eminence and ſucceſs are labour and ſtudy.

From theſe falſe reports it is probable that another aroſe, to which, though it cannot be with equal certainty confuted, it does not appear that entire credit ought to be given. The acquiſition of a Latin ſtyle did not ſeem conſiſtent with the manner of life imputed to him; nor was it probable, that he, who had ſo diligently cultivated the ornamental parts of general

general literature, would have neglected the essential studies of his own profession. Those therefore who were determined, at whatever price, to retain him in their own party, and represent him equally ignorant and daring with themselves, denied him the credit of writing his own works in the language in which they were published, and asserted, but without proof, that they were composed by him in English, and translated into Latin by Dr. Mapletoft.

Whether Dr. Mapletoft lived and was familiar with him during the whole time in which these several treatises were printed, treatises written on particular occasions, and printed at periods considerably distant from each other, we have had no opportunity of enquiring, and therefore cannot demonstrate the falsehood of this report: but if it be considered how unlikely it is that any man should engage in a work so laborious and so little necessary, only to advance the reputation of another, or that he should have leisure to continue the same office upon all following occasions; if it be remembered how seldom such literary combinations are formed, and how soon they are for the greatest part dissolved; there will appear no reason for not allowing Dr. Sydenham the laurel of eloquence as well as physick *.

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* Since the foregoing was written, we have seen Mr. Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College; who, in the life of Dr. Mapletoft, says, that in 1676 Dr. Sydenham published his *Observationes medicæ circa morborum acutorum historiam & curationem*, which he dedicated to Dr. Mapletoft, who at the desire of the author had translated them into Latin; and that the other

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It is obſervable, that his *Proceſſus Integri*, publiſhed after his death, diſcovers alone more ſkill in the Latin language than is commonly aſcribed to him; and it ſurely will not be ſuſpected, that the officiouſneſs of his friends was continued after his death, or that he procured the book to be tranſlated only that, by leaving it behind him, he might ſecure his claim to his other writings.

It is aſſerted by Sir Hans Sloane, that Dr. Sydenham, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, was particularly verſed in the writings of the great Roman orator and philoſopher; and there is evidently ſuch a luxuriance in his ſtyle, as may diſcover the author which gave him moſt pleaſure, and moſt engaged his imitation.

About the ſame time that he became batchelor of phyſick, he obtained, by the intereſt of a relation, a fellowſhip of All Souls college, having ſubmitted by the ſubſcription required to the authority of the viſitors appointed by the parliament, upon what principles, or how conſiſtently with his former conduct, it is now impoſſible to diſcover.

When he thought himſelf qualified for practice, he fixed his reſidence in Weſtminſter, became doctor of phyſick at Cambridge, received a licence from the college of phyſicians, and lived in the firſt degree of reputation, and the greateſt affluence of practice,

pieces of that excellent phyſician were tranſlated into that language by Mr. Gilbert Havers of Trinity College Cambridge, a ſtudent in phyſick and friend of Dr. Mapletoft. But as Mr. Ward, like others, neglects to bring any proof of his aſſertion, the queſtion cannot fairly be decided by his authority. *Orig. Edit.*

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for many years, without any other enemies than thofe which he raifed by the fuperior merit of his conduct, the brighter luftre of his abilities, or his improvements of his fcience, and his contempt of pernicious methods fupported only by authority in oppofition to found reafon and indubitable experience. Thefe men are indebted to him for concealing their names, when he records their malice, fince they have thereby efcaped the contempt and deteftation of pofterity.

It is a melancholy reflection, that they who have obtained the higheft reputation, by preferving or reftoring the health of others, have often been hurried away before the natural decline of life, or have paffed many of their years under the torments of thofe diftempers which they profefs to relieve. In this number was Sydenham, whofe health began to fail in the 52d year of his age, by the frequent attacks of the gout, to which he was fubject for a great part of his life, and which was afterwards accompanied with the ftone in the kidneys, and, its natural confequence, bloody-urine.

Thefe were diftempers which even the art of Sydenham could only palliate, without hope of a perfect cure, but which, if he has not been able by his precepts to inftruct us to remove, he has, at leaft, by his example, taught us to bear; for he never betrayed any indecent impatience, or unmanly dejection, under his torments, but fupported himfelf by the reflections of philofophy, and the confolations of religion, and in every interval of eafe applied himfelf to the affiftance of others with his ufual affiduity.

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After a life thus ufefully employed, he died at his houfe in Pall-mall, on the 29th of December 1689, and was buried in the aifle, near the fouth door, of the church of St. James in Weftminfter.

What was his character, as a phyfician, appears from the treatifes which he has left, which it is not neceffary to epitomife or tranfcribe; and from them it may likewife be collected, that his fkill in phyfick was not his higheft excellence; that his whole character was amiable; that his chief view was the benefit of mankind, and the chief motive of his actions the will of God, whom he mentions with reverence, well becoming the moft enlightened and moft penetrating mind. He was benevolent, candid, and communicative, fincere, and religious; qualities, which it were happy if they could copy from him, who emulate his knowledge, and imitate his methods.

CHEYNEL*.

THERE is always this advantage in contending with illuſtrious adverſaries, that the combatant is equally immortalized by conqueſt or defeat. He that dies by the ſword of a hero will always be mentioned when the acts of his enemy are mentioned. The man, of whoſe life the following account is offered to the publick, was indeed eminent among his own party, and had qualities, which, employed in a good cauſe, would have given him ſome claim to diſtinction; but no one is now ſo much blinded with bigotry, as to imagine him equal either to Hammond or Chillingworth; nor would his memory, perhaps, have been preſerved, had he not, by being conjoined with illuſtrious names, become the object of publick curioſity.

Francis Cheynel was born in 1608 at Oxford †, where his father Dr. John Cheynel, who had been fellow of Corpus Chriſti college, practiſed phyſick with great reputation. He was educated in one of the grammar ſchools of his native city, and in the beginning of the year 1623 became a member of the univerſity.

* Firſt printed in The Student, 1751.

† Vide Wood's Ath. Ox. *Orig. Edit.*

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It is probable that he loſt his father when he was very young; for it appears, that before 1629 his mother had married Dr. Abbot, biſhop of Saliſbury, whom ſhe had likewiſe buried. From this marriage he received great advantage; for his mother being now allied to Dr. Brent, then warden of Merton college, exerted her intereſt ſo vigorouſly, that he was admitted there a probationer, and afterwards obtained a fellowſhip *.

Having taken the degree of maſter of arts, he was admitted to orders according to the rites of the church of England, and held a curacy near Oxford, together with his fellowſhip. He continued in his college till he was qualified by his years of reſidence for the degree of batchelor of divinity, which he attempted to take in 1641, but was denied his grace †, for diſputing concerning predeſtination, contrary to the king's injunctions.

This refuſal of his degree he mentions in his dedication to his account of Mr. Chillingworth: "Do not conceive that I ſnatch up my pen in an "angry mood, that I might vent my dangerous wit, "and eaſe my overburned ſpleen; no, no, I have "almoſt forgotten the viſitation of Merton college, "and the denial of my grace, the plundering of my "houſe, and little library: I know when, and where, "and of whom, to demand ſatisfaction for all theſe "injuries and indignities. I have learnt *centum pla-* "*gas Spartana nobilitate concoquere*. I have not "learnt how to plunder others of goods, or living, "and make myſelf amends by force of arms. I will

* Vide Wood's Ath. Ox. *Orig. Edit.*

† Vide Wood's Hiſt. Univ. Ox. *Orig. Edit.*

"not

“ not take a living which belonged to any civil, ſtu-
“ dious, learned delinquent; unleſs it be the much
“ neglected *commendam* of ſome lordly prelate, con-
“ demned by the known laws of the land, and the
“ higheſt court of the kingdom, for ſome offence of
“ the firſt magnitude.”

It is obſervable, that he declares himſelf to have almoſt forgot his injuries and indignities, though he recounts them with an appearance of acrimony, which is no proof that the impreſſion is much weakened; and inſinuates his deſign of demanding, at a proper time, ſatisfaction for them.

Theſe vexations were the conſequence, rather, of the abuſe of learning, than the want of it; no one that reads his works can doubt that he was turbulent, obſtinate, and petulant, and ready to inſtruct his ſuperiors, when he moſt needed inſtruction from them. Whatever he believed (and the warmth of his imagination naturally made him precipitate in forming his opinions) he thought himſelf obliged to profeſs; and what he profeſſed he was ready to defend, without that modeſty which is always prudent, and generally neceſſary, and which, though it was not agreeable to Mr. Cheynel's temper, and therefore readily condemned by him, is a very uſeful aſſociate to truth, and often introduces her by degrees, where ſhe never could have forced her way by argument or declamation.

A temper of this kind is generally inconvenient and offenſive in any ſociety, but in a place of education is leaſt to be tolerated; for, as authority is neceſſary to inſtruction, whoever endeavours to deſtroy ſubordination, by weakening that reverence which is claimed

claimed by thoſe to whom the guardianſhip of youth is committed by their country, defeats at once the inſtitution; and may be juſtly driven from a ſociety, by which he thinks himſelf too wiſe to be governed, and in which he is too young to teach, and too opinionative to learn.

This may be readily ſuppoſed to have been the caſe of Cheynel; and I know not how thoſe can be blamed for cenſuring his conduct, or puniſhing his diſobedience, who had a right to govern him, and who might certainly act with equal ſincerity, and with greater knowledge.

With regard to the viſitation of Merton college, the account is equally obſcure. Viſitors are well known to be generally called to regulate the affairs of colleges, when the members diſagree with their head, or with one another; and the temper that Dr. Cheynel diſcovers will eaſily incline his readers to ſuſpect that he could not long live in any place without finding ſome occaſion for debate; nor debate any queſtion without carrying his oppoſition to ſuch a length as might make a moderator neceſſary. Whether this was his conduct at Merton, or whether an appeal to the viſitor's authority was made by him, or his adverſaries, or any other member of the college, is not to be known; it appears only, that there was a viſitation, that he ſuffered by it, and reſented his puniſhment.

He was afterwards preſented to a living of great value, near Banbury, where he had ſome diſpute with archbiſhop Laud. Of this diſpute I have found no particular account. Calamy only ſays he had a ruffle with biſhop Laud, while at his height.

Had Cheynel been equal to his adverſary in greatneſs and learning, it had not been eaſy to have found either a more proper oppoſite; for they were both, to the laſt degree, zealous, active, and pertinacious, and would have afforded mankind a ſpectacle of reſolution and boldneſs not often to be ſeen. But the amuſement of beholding the ſtruggle would hardly have been without danger, as they were too fiery not to have communicated their heat, though it ſhould have produced a conflagration of their country.

About the year 1641, when the whole nation was engaged in the controverſy about the rights of the church, and neceſſity of epiſcopacy, he declared himſelf a preſbyterian, and an enemy to biſhops, liturgies, ceremonies, and was conſidered as one of the moſt learned and acute of his party; for, having ſpent much of his life in a college, it cannot be doubted that he had a conſiderable knowledge of books, which the vehemence of his temper enabled him often to diſplay, when a more timorous man would have been ſilent, though in learning not his inferior.

When the war broke out, Mr. Cheynel, in conſequence of his principles, declared himſelf for the parliament; and as he appears to have held it as a firſt principle, that all great and noble ſpirits abhor neutrality, there is no doubt but that he exerted himſelf to gain proſelytes, and to promote the intereſt of that party which he had thought it his duty to eſpouſe. Theſe endeavours were ſo much regarded by the parliament, that, having taken the covenant, he was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines, who were

to

to meet at Weſtminſter for the ſettlement of the new diſcipline.

This diſtinction drew neceſſarily upon him the hatred of the cavaliers; and his living being not far diſtant from the king's head-quarters, he received a viſit from ſome of the troops, who, as he affirms, plundered his houſe, and drove him from it. His living, which was, I ſuppoſe, conſidered as forfeited by his abſence (though he was not ſuffered to continue upon it), was given to a clergyman, of whom he ſays, that he would become a ſtage better than a pulpit; a cenſure which I can neither confute nor admit, becauſe I have not diſcovered who was his ſucceſſor. He then retired into Suſſex, to exerciſe his miniſtry among his friends, in a place where, as he obſerves, there had been little of the power of religion either known or practiſed. As no reaſon can be given why the inhabitants of Suſſex ſhould have leſs knowledge or virtue than thoſe of other places, it may be ſuſpected that he means nothing more than a place where the preſbyterian diſcipline or principles had never been received. We now obſerve, that the Methodiſts, where they ſcatter their opinions, repreſent themſelves as preaching the goſpel to unconverted nations; and enthuſiaſts of all kinds have been inclined to diſguiſe their particular tenets with pompous appellations, and to imagine themſelves the great inſtruments of ſalvation: yet it muſt be confeſſed that all places are not equally enlightened; that in the moſt civilized nations there are many corners which may be called barbarous, where neither politeneſs, nor religion, nor the common arts of life, have yet been cultivated; and it is likewiſe certain, that

the inhabitants of Suffex have been fometimes mentioned as remarkable for brutality.

From Suffex he went often to London, where, in 1643, he preached three times before the parliament; and, returning in November to Colchefter, to keep the monthly faft there, as was his cuftom, he obtained a convoy of fixteen foldiers, whofe bravery or good fortune was fuch, that they faced and put to flight more than two hundred of the king's forces.

In this journey he found Mr. Chillingworth in the hands of the parliament's troops, of whofe ficknefs and death he gave the account, which has been fufficiently made known to the learned world by Mr. Maizeaux, in his Life of Chillingworth.

With regard to this relation it may be obferved that it is written with an air of fearlefs veracity, and with the fpirit of a man who thinks his caufe juft, and his behaviour without reproach: nor does there appear any reafon for doubting that Cheynel fpoke and acted as he relates; for he does not publifh an apology, but a challenge, and writes not fo much to obviate calumnies, as to gain from others that applaufe which he feems to have beftowed very liberally upon himfelf for his behaviour on that occafion.

Since, therefore, this relation is credible, a great part of it being fupported by evidence which cannot be refufed, Mr. Maizeaux feems very juftly, in his Life of Mr. Chillingworth, to oppofe the common report, that his life was fhortened by the inhumanity of thofe to whom he was a prifoner; for Cheynel appears to have preferved, amidft all his deteftation of the opinions which he imputed to him,

him, a great kindneſs to his perſon, and veneration for his capacity : nor does he appear to have been cruel to him, otherwiſe than by that inceſſant importunity of diſputation, to which he was doubtleſs incited by a ſincere belief of the danger of his ſoul, if he ſhould die without renouncing ſome of his opinions.

The ſame kindneſs which made him deſirous to convert him before his death, would incline him to preſerve him from dying before he was converted ; and accordingly we find, that, when the caſtle was yielded, he took care to procure him a commodious lodging : when he was to have been unſeaſonably removed, he attempted to ſhorten his journey, which he knew would be dangerous : when the phyſician was diſguſted by Chillingworth's diſtruſt, he prevailed upon him, as the ſymptoms grew more dangerous, to renew his viſits ; and when death left no other act of kindneſs to be practiſed, procured him the rites of burial, which ſome would have denied him.

Having done thus far juſtice to the humanity of Cheynel, it is proper to enquire how far he deſerves blame. He appears to have extended none of that kindneſs to the opinions of Chillingworth, which he ſhewed to his perſon ; for he interprets every word in the worſt ſenſe, and ſeems induſtrious to diſcover in every line hereſies, which might have eſcaped for ever any other apprehenſion : he appears always ſuſpicious of ſome latent malignity, and ready to perſecute what he only ſuſpects, with the ſame violence as if it had been openly avowed : in all his procedure he ſhews himſelf ſincere, but without candour.

About this time Cheynel, in purſuance of his natural ardour, attended the army under the command of the earl of Eſſex, and added the praiſe of valour to that of learning; for he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his perſonal bravery, and obtained ſo much ſkill in the ſcience of war, that his commands were obeyed by the colonels with as much reſpect as thoſe of the general. He ſeems, indeed, to have been born a ſoldier, for he had an intrepidity which was never to be ſhaken by any danger, and a ſpirit of enterpriſe not to be diſcouraged by difficulty; which were ſupported by an unuſual degree of bodily ſtrength. His ſervices of all kinds were thought of ſo much importance by the parliament, that they beſtowed upon him the living of Petworth, in Suſſex. This living was of the value of 700 l. per annum, from which they had ejected a man remarkable for his loyalty, and therefore, in their opinion, not worthy of ſuch revenues. And it may be enquired, whether in accepting this preferment, Cheynel did not violate the proteſtation which he makes in the paſſage already recited, and whether he did not ſuffer his reſolution to be over-born by the temptations of wealth.

In 1646, when Oxford was taken by the forces of the parliament, and the reformation of the Univerſity was reſolved, Mr. Cheynel was ſent, with ſix others, to prepare the way for a viſitation; being authorized by the parliament to preach in any of the churches, without regard to the right of the members of the univerſity, that their doctrine might prepare their hearers for the changes which were intended.

When

When they arrived at Oxford, they began to execute their commiſſion, by poſſeſſing themſelves of the pulpits; but, if the relation of Wood * is to be regarded, were heard with very little veneration. Thoſe who had been accuſtomed to the preachers of Oxford, and the liturgy of the church of England, were offended at the emptineſs of their diſcourſes, which were noiſy and unmeaning; at the unuſual geſtures, the wild diſtortions, and the uncouth tone with which they were delivered; at the coldneſs of their prayers for the king, and the vehemence and exuberance of thoſe which they did not fail to utter for *the bleſſed councils* and actions of the parliament and army; and at, what was ſurely not to be remarked without indignation, their omiſſion of the Lord's Prayer.

But power eaſily ſupplied the want of reverence, and they proceeded in their plan of reformation; and thinking ſermons not ſo efficacious to converſion as private interrogatories and exhortations, they eſtabliſhed a weekly meeting for *freeing tender conſciences from ſcruple*, at a houſe, that, from the buſineſs to which it was appropriated, was called the *Scruple-ſhop*.

With this project they were ſo well pleaſed, that they ſent to the parliament an account of it, which was afterwards printed, and is aſcribed by Wood to Mr. Cheynel. They continued for ſome weeks to hold their meetings regularly, and to admit great numbers, whom curioſity, or a deſire of conviction, or compliance with the prevailing party, brought thither. But their tranquillity was quickly diſturbed

* Vide Wood's Hiſt. Antiq. Oxon. *Orig. Edit.*

by the turbulence of the Independents, whofe opinions then prevailed among the foldiers, and were very induftrioufly propagated by the difcourfes of William Earbury, a preacher of great reputation among them, who one day gathering a confiderable number of his moft zealous followers, went to the houfe appointed for the refolution of fcruples, on a day which was fet apart for the difquifition of the dignity and office of a minifter, and began to difpute with great vehemence againft the Prefbyterians, whom he denied to have any true minifters among them, and whofe affemblies he affirmed not to be the true church. He was oppofed with equal heat by the Prefbyterians, and at length they agreed to examine the point another day, in a regular difputation. Accordingly they appointed the twelfth of November for an enquiry, "whether, in the Chriftian church, the office of minifter is committed to any particular perfons?"

On the day fixed, the antagonifts appeared each attended by great numbers; but when the queftion was propofed, they began to wrangle, not about the doctrine which they had engaged to examine, but about the terms of the propofition, which the Independents alleged to be changed fince their agreement; and at length the foldiers infifted that the queftion fhould be, "Whether thofe who call themfelves minifters have more right or power to preach the gofpel, than any other man that is a Chriftian?" This queftion was debated for fome time with great vehemence and confufion, but without any profpect of a conclufion. At length, one of the foldiers, who thought they had an equal right with the reft to engage in the controverfy, demanded of the Prefby-

Presbyterians, whence they themselves received their orders, whether from bishops or any other persons? This unexpected interrogatory put them to great difficulties; for it happened that they were all ordained by the bishops, which they durst not acknowledge, for fear of exposing themselves to a general censure, and being convicted from their own declarations, in which they had frequently condemned Episcopacy as contrary to Christianity; nor durst they deny it, because they might have been confuted, and must at once have sunk into contempt. The soldiers, seeing their perplexity, insulted them; and went away boasting of their victory: nor did the Presbyterians, for some time, recover spirit enough to renew their meetings, or to proceed in the work of easing consciences.

Earbury, exulting at the victory, which, not his own abilities, but the subtilty of the soldier had procured him, began to vent his notions of every kind without scruple, and at length asserted, that "the "Saints had an equal measure of the divine nature "with our Saviour, though not equally manifest." At the same time he took upon him the dignity of a prophet, and began to utter predictions relating to the affairs of England and Ireland.

His prophecies were not much regarded, but his doctrine was censured by the Presbyterians in their pulpits; and Mr. Cheynel challenged him to a disputation, to which he agreed, and at his first appearance in St. Mary's church addressed his audience in the following manner:

"Christian friends, kind fellow-soldiers, and wor-"thy students, I, the humble servant of all mankind,

"am

"am this day drawn, againſt my will, out of my cell "into this publick aſſembly, by the double chain of "accuſation and a challenge from the pulpit. I have "been charged with hereſy; I have been challenged "to come hither in a letter written by Mr. Francis "Cheynel. Here then I ſtand in defence of myſelf "and my doctrine, which I ſhall introduce with only "this declaration, that I claim not the office of a "miniſter on account of any outward call, though I "formerly received ordination, nor do I boaſt of *il-* "*lumination*, or the knowledge of our Saviour, "though I have been held in eſteem by others, and "formerly by myſelf. For I now declare, that I "know nothing, and am nothing, nor would I be "thought of otherwiſe than as an enquirer and "ſeeker."

He then advanced his former poſition in ſtronger terms, and with additions equally deteſtable, which Cheynel attacked with the vehemence which, in ſo warm a temper, ſuch horrid aſſertions might naturally excite. The diſpute, frequently interrupted by the clamours of the audience, and tumults raiſed to diſconcert Cheynel, who was very unpopular, continued about four hours, and then both the controvertiſts grew weary, and retired. The Preſbyterians afterwards thought they ſhould more ſpeedily put an end to the hereſies of Earbury by power than by argument; and, by ſoliciting General Fairfax, procured his removal.

Mr. Cheynel publiſhed an account of this diſpute under the title of "Faith triumphing over Error and "Hereſy in a Revelation," &c. nor can it be doubted

but

but he had the victory, where his cause gave him so great superiority.

Somewhat before this, his captious and petulant disposition engaged him in a controversy, from which he could not expect to gain equal reputation. Dr. Hammond had not long before published his *Practical Catechism*, in which Mr. Cheynel, according to his custom, found many errors implied, if not asserted; and therefore, as it was much read, thought it convenient to censure it in the pulpit. Of this Dr. Hammond being informed, desired him in a letter to communicate his objections; to which Mr. Cheynel returned an answer, written with his usual temper, and therefore somewhat perverse. The controversy was drawn out to a considerable length; and the papers on both sides were afterwards made publick by Dr. Hammond.

In 1647, it was determined by parliament, that the reformation of Oxford should be more vigorously carried on; and Mr. Cheynel was nominated one of the visitors. The general process of the visitation, the firmness and fidelity of the students, the address by which the enquiry was delayed, and the steadiness with which it was opposed, which are very particularly related by Wood, and after him by Walker, it is not necessary to mention here, as they relate not more to Dr. Cheynel's life than to those of his associates.

There is indeed some reason to believe that he was more active and virulent than the rest, because he appears to have been charged in a particular manner with some of their most unjustifiable measures. He was accused of proposing that the members of the

University

Univerſity ſhould be denied the aſſiſtance of counſel, and was lampooned by name, as a madman, in a ſatire written on the viſitation.

One action, which ſhews the violence of his temper, and his diſregard both of humanity and decency, when they came in competition with his paſſions, muſt not be forgotten. The viſitors being offended at the obſtinacy of Dr. Fell, Dean of Chriſt-church, and Vice-chancellor of the Univerſity, having firſt deprived him of his vice-chancellorſhip, determined afterwards to diſpoſſeſs him of his deanery; and, in the courſe of their proceedings, thought it proper to ſeize upon his chambers in the college. This was an act which moſt men would willingly have referred to the officers to whom the law aſſigned it; but Cheynel's fury prompted him to a different conduct. He, and three more of the viſitors, went and demanded admiſſion; which, being ſteadily refuſed them, they obtained by the aſſiſtance of a file of ſoldiers, who forced the doors with pick-axes. Then entering, they ſaw Mrs. Fell in the lodgings, Dr. Fell being in priſon at London, and ordered her to quit them; but found her not more obſequious than her huſband. They repeated their orders with menaces, but were not able to prevail upon her to remove. They then retired, and left her expoſed to the brutality of the ſoldiers, whom they commanded to keep poſſeſſion; which Mrs. Fell however did not leave. About nine days afterwards ſhe received another viſit of the ſame kind from the new chancellor, the earl of Pembroke; who having, like the others, ordered her to depart without effect, treated her with reproachful language, and at laſt commanded the ſoldiers to take

her up in her chair, and carry her out of doors. Her daughters, and ſome other gentlewomen that were with her, were afterwards treated in the ſame manner; one of whom predicted, without dejection, that ſhe ſhould enter the houſe again with leſs difficulty, at ſome other time; nor was ſhe miſtaken in her conjecture, for Dr. Fell lived to be reſtored to his deanery.

At the reception of the chancellor, Cheynel, as the moſt accompliſhed of the viſitors, had the province of preſenting him with the enſigns of his office, ſome of which were counterfeit, and addreſſing him with a proper oration. Of this ſpeech, which Wood has preſerved, I ſhall give ſome paſſages, by which a judgment may be made of his oratory.

Of the ſtaves of the beadles he obſerves, that "ſome are ſtained with double guilt, that ſome are "pale with fear, and that others have been made "uſe of as crutches, for the ſupport of bad cauſes "and deſperate fortunes;" and he remarks of the book of ſtatutes which he delivers, that "the ignorant "may perhaps admire the ſplendor of the cover, but "the learned know that the real treaſure is within." Of theſe two ſentences it is eaſily diſcovered, that the firſt is forced and unnatural, and the ſecond trivial and low.

Soon afterwards Mr. Cheynel was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, for which his grace had been denied him in 1641, and, as he then ſuffered for an ill-timed aſſertion of the Preſbyterian doctrines, he obtained that his degree ſhould be dated from the time at which he was refuſed it; an honour,

nour, which, however, did not ſecure him from being ſoon after publickly reproached as a madman.

But the vigour of Cheynel was thought by his companions to deſerve profit as well as honour; and Dr. Bailey, the preſident of St. John's College, being not more obedient to the authority of the parliament than the reſt, was deprived of his revenues and authority, with which Mr. Cheynel was immediately inveſted; who, with his uſual coolneſs and modeſty, took poſſeſſion of the lodgings ſoon after by breaking open the doors.

This preferment being not thought adequate to the deſerts or abilities of Mr. Cheynel, it was therefore deſired, by the committee of parliament, that the viſitors would recommend him to the lectureſhip of divinity founded by the Lady Margaret. To recommend him and to chooſe was at that time the ſame; and he had now the pleaſure of propagating his darling doctrine of predeſtination, without interruption, and without danger.

Being thus fluſhed with power and ſucceſs, there is little reaſon for doubting that he gave way to his natural vehemence, and indulged himſelf in the utmoſt exceſſes of raging zeal, by which he was indeed ſo much diſtinguiſhed, that, in a ſatire mentioned by Wood, he is dignified by the title of Arch-viſitor; an appellation which he ſeems to have been induſtrious to deſerve by ſeverity and inflexibility: for, not contented with the commiſſion which he and his colleagues had already received, he procured ſix or ſeven of the members of parliament to meet privately in Mr. Rouſe's lodgings, and aſſume the ſtyle and authority

authority of a committee, and from them obtained a more extenfive and tyrannical power, by which the vifitors were enabled to force the *folemn League and Covenant* and the *negative Oath* upon all the members of the Univerfity, and to profecute thofe for a contempt who did not appear to a citation, at whatever diftance they might be, and whatever reafons they might affign for their abfence.

By this method he eafily drove great numbers from the Univerfity, whofe places he fupplied with men of his own opinion, whom he was very induftrious to draw from other parts, with promifes of making a liberal provifion for them out of the fpoils of hereticks and malignants.

Having in time almoft extirpated thofe opinions which he found fo prevalent at his arrival, or at leaft obliged thofe, who would not recant, to an appearance of conformity, he was at leifure for employments which deferve to be recorded with greater commendation. About this time, many Socinian writers began to publifh their notions with great boldnefs, which the Prefbyterians confidering as heretical and impious, thought it neceffary to confute; and therefore Cheynel, who had now obtained his doctor's degree, was defired, in 1649, to write a vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, which he performed, and publifhed the next year.

He drew up likewife a confutation of fome Socinian tenets advanced by John Fry; a man who fpent great part of his life in ranging from one religion to another, and who fat as one of the judges on the king, but was expelled afterwards from the houfe of commons, and difabled from fitting in parliament.

Dr.

Dr. Cheynel is ſaid to have ſhewn himſelf evidently ſuperior to him in the controverſy, and was anſwered by him only with an opprobrious book againſt the Preſbyterian clergy.

Of the remaining part of his life there is found only an obſcure and confuſed account. He quitted the preſidentſhip of St. John's, and the profeſſorſhip, in 1650, as Calamy relates, becauſe he would not take the engagement; and gave a proof that he could ſuffer as well as act in a cauſe which he believed juſt. We have, indeed, no reaſon to queſtion his reſolution, whatever occaſion might be given to exert it; nor is it probable that he feared affliction more than danger, or that he would not have borne perſecution himſelf for thoſe opinions which inclined him to proſecute others.

He did not ſuffer much upon this occaſion; for he retained the living of Petworth, to which he thenceforward confined his labours, and where he was very aſſiduous, and, as Calamy affirms, very ſucceſsful in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, it being his peculiar character to be warm and zealous in all his undertakings.

This heat of his diſpoſition, increaſed by the uncommon turbulence of the times in which he lived, and by the oppoſition to which the unpopular nature of ſome of his employments expoſed him, was at laſt heightened to diſtraction, ſo that he was for ſome years diſordered in his underſtanding, as both Wood and Calamy relate, but with ſuch difference as might be expected from their oppoſite principles. Wood appears to think, that a tendency to madneſs was diſcoverable in a great part of his life; Calamy, that it

was only tranfient and accidental, though, in his additions to his firft narrative, he pleads it as an extenuation of that fury with which his kindeft friends confefs him to have acted on fome occafions. Wood declares, that he died little better than diftracted; Calamy, that he was perfectly recovered to a found mind before the Reftoration, at which time he retired to Prefton, a fmall village in Suffex, being turned out of his living at Petworth.

It does not appear, that he kept his living till the general ejection of the Nonconformifts; and it is not unlikely that the afperity of his carriage, and the known virulence of his temper, might have raifed him enemies, who were willing to make him feel the effects of perfecution which he had fo furioufly incited againft others; but of this incident of his life there is no particular account.

After his deprivation, he lived (till his death, which happened in 1665) at a fmall village near Chichefter, upon a paternal eftate, not augmented by the large preferments wafted upon him in the triumphs of his party; having been remarkable, throughout his life, for hofpitality and contempt of money.

C A V E*.

EDWARD CAVE was born at Newton in Warwickſhire, Feb. 29, 1691. His father (Joſeph) was the younger ſon of Mr. Edward Cave, of Cave's in the Hole, a lone houſe, on the Street-road in the ſame county, which took its name from the occupier; but having concurred with his elder brother in cutting off the intail of a ſmall hereditary eſtate, by which act it was loſt from the family, he was reduced to follow in Rugby the trade of a ſhoemaker. He was a man of good reputation in his narrow circle, and remarkable for ſtrength and ruſtick intrepidity. He lived to a great age, and was in his latter years ſupported by his ſon.

It was fortunate for Edward Cave, that, having a diſpoſition to literary attainments, he was not cut off by the poverty of his parents from opportunities of cultivating his faculties. The ſchool of Rugby, in which he had, by the rules of its foundation, a right

* This life firſt appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1754, and is now printed from a copy reviſed by the author, at the requeſt of Mr. Nichols, in 1781.

to

to be inſtructed, was then in high reputation, under the Rev. Mr. Holyock, to whoſe care moſt of the neighbouring families, even of the higheſt rank, entruſted their ſons. He had judgment to diſcover, and, for ſome time, generoſity to encourage, the genius of young Cave; and was ſo well pleaſed with his quick progreſs in the ſchool, that he declared his reſolution to breed him for the univerſity, and recommended him as a ſervitor to ſome of his ſcholars of high rank. But proſperity which depends upon the caprice of others is of ſhort duration. Cave's ſuperiority in literature exalted him to an invidious familiarity with boys who were far above him in rank and expectations; and, as in unequal aſſociations it always happens, whatever unlucky prank was played was imputed to Cave. When any miſchief, great or ſmall, was done, though perhaps others boaſted of the ſtratagem when it was ſucceſsful, yet upon detection or miſcarriage the fault was ſure to fall upon poor Cave.

At laſt, his miſtreſs by ſome inviſible means loſt a favourite cock. Cave was, with little examination, ſtigmatized as the thief or murderer; not becauſe he was more apparently criminal than others, but becauſe he was more eaſily reached by vindictive juſtice. From that time Mr. Holyock withdrew his kindneſs viſibly from him, and treated him with harſhneſs, which the crime, in its utmoſt aggravation, could ſcarcely deſerve; and which ſurely he would have forborn, had he conſidered how hardly the habitual influence of birth and fortune is reſiſted; and how frequently men, not wholly without ſenſe of virtue, are betrayed to acts more atrocious than the

robbery of a hen-rooſt, by a deſire of pleaſing their ſuperiors.

Thoſe reflections his maſter never made, or made without effect; for under pretence that Cave obſtructed the diſcipline of the ſchool, by ſelling clandeſtine aſſiſtance, and ſupplying exerciſes to idlers, he was oppreſſed with unreaſonable taſks, that there might be an opportunity of quarrelling with his failure; and when his diligence had ſurmounted them, no regard was paid to the performance. Cave bore this perſecution a while, and then left the ſchool, and the hope of a literary education, to ſeek ſome other means of gaining a livelihood.

He was firſt placed with a collector of the exciſe. He uſed to recount with ſome pleaſure a journey or two which he rode with him as his clerk, and relate the victories that he gained over the exciſemen in grammatical diſputations. But the inſolence of his miſtreſs, who employed him in ſervile drudgery, quickly diſguſted him, and he went up to London in queſt of more ſuitable employment.

He was recommended to a timber-merchant at the Bankſide, and while he was there on liking, is ſaid to have given hopes of great mercantile abilities; but this place he ſoon left, I know not for what reaſon, and was bound apprentice to Mr. Collins, a printer of ſome reputation, and deputy alderman.

This was a trade for which men were formerly qualified by a literary education, and which was pleaſing to Cave, becauſe it furniſhed ſome employment for his ſcholaſtick attainments. Here, therefore, he reſolved to ſettle, though his maſter and miſtreſs lived in perpetual diſcord, and their houſe

was

was therefore no comfortable habitation. From the inconveniencies of these domestick tumults he was soon released, having in only two years attained so much skill in his art, and gained so much the confidence of his master, that he was sent without any superintendant to conduct a printing-house at Norwich, and publish a weekly paper. In this undertaking he met with some opposition, which produced a publick controversy, and procured young Cave the reputation of a writer.

His master died before his apprenticeship was expired, and he was not able to bear the perverseness of his mistress. He therefore quitted her house upon a stipulated allowance, and married a young widow with whom he lived at Bow. When his apprenticeship was over, he worked as a journeyman at the printing-house of Mr. Barber, a man much distinguished, and employed by the Tories, whose principles had at that time so much prevalence with Cave, that he was for some years a writer in "Mist's Journal;" which, though he afterwards obtained by his wife's interest a small place in the Post-office, he for some time continued. But as interest is powerful, and conversation, however mean, in time persuasive, he by degrees inclined to another party; in which, however, he was always moderate, though steady and determined.

When he was admitted into the Post-office, he still continued, at his intervals of attendance, to exercise his trade, or to employ himself with some typographical business. He corrected the "Gradus ad Parnassum;" and was liberally rewarded by the company of Stationers. He wrote an "Account of

the Criminals," which had for ſome time a conſiderable ſale; and publiſhed many little pamphlets that accident brought into his hands, of which it would be very difficult to recover the memory. By the correſpondence which his place in the Poſt-office facilitated, he procured country news-papers, and ſold their intelligence to a Journaliſt in London, for a guinea a week.

He was afterwards raiſed to the office of clerk of the franks, in which he acted with great ſpirit and firmneſs; and often ſtopped franks, which were given by members of parliament to their friends, becauſe he thought ſuch extenſion of a peculiar right illegal. This raiſed many complaints, and having ſtopped, among others, a frank given to the old ducheſs of Marlborough by Mr. Walter Plummer, he was cited before the houſe as for breach of privilege, and accuſed, I ſuppoſe very unjuſtly, of opening letters to detect them. He was treated with great harſhneſs and ſeverity, but declining their queſtions by pleading his oath of ſecrecy, was at laſt diſmiſſed. And it muſt be recorded to his honour, that, when he was ejected from his office, he did not think himſelf diſcharged from his truſt, but continued to refuſe to his neareſt friends any information about the management of the office.

By this conſtancy of diligence and diverſification of employment, he in time collected a ſum ſufficient for the purchaſe of a ſmall printing-office, and began the "Gentleman's Magazine," a periodical pamphlet, of which the ſcheme is known wherever the Engliſh language is ſpoken. To this undertaking he owed the affluence in which he paſſed the laſt twenty years

of his life, and the fortune which he left behind him, which, though large, had been yet larger, had he not rashly and wantonly impaired it by innumerable projects, of which I know not that ever one succeeded.

"The Gentleman's Magazine," which has now subsisted fifty years, and still continues to enjoy the favour of the world *, is one of the most successful and lucrative pamphlets which literary history has upon record, and therefore deserves, in this narative, particular notice.

Mr. Cave, when he formed the project, was far from expecting the success which he found; and others had so little prospect of its consequence, that though he had for several years talked of his plan among printers and booksellers, none of them thought it worth the trial. That they were not restrained by virtue from the execution of another man's design, was sufficiently apparent as soon as that design began to be gainful; for in a few years a multitude of magazines arose and perished; only the London Magazine, supported by a powerful association of booksellers, and circulated with all the art and all the cunning of trade, exempted itself from the general fate of Cave's invaders, and obtained, though not an equal, yet a considerable sale †.

Cave now began to aspire to popularity; and being a greater lover of poetry than any other art, he sometimes offered subjects for poems, and proposed prizes for the best performers. The first prize was 50 l. for which, being but newly acquainted with

* This was said in the beginning of the year 1781; and may be now repeated.

† The London Magazine ceased to exist in 1785.

wealth, and thinking the influence of 50 l. extremely great, he expected the firſt authors of the kingdom to appear as competitors; and offered the allotment of the prize to the univerſities. But when the time came, no name was ſeen among the writers that had ever been ſeen before; the univerſities and ſeveral private men rejected the province of aſſigning the prize *. At all this Mr. Cave wondered for a while; but his natural judgment, and a wider acquaintance with the world, ſoon cured him of his aſtoniſhment, as of many other prejudices and errors. Nor have many men been ſeen raiſed by accident or induſtry to ſudden riches, that retained leſs of the meanneſs of their former ſtate.

He continued to improve his Magazine, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing its ſucceſs proportionate to his diligence, till in 1751, his wife died of an aſthma. He ſeemed not at firſt much affected by her death, but in a few days loſt his ſleep and his appetite, which he never recovered; but after having lingered about two years, with many viciſſitudes of amendment and relapſe, fell by drinking acid liquors into a diarrhœa, and afterwards into a kind of lethargick inſenſibility, in which one of the laſt acts of reaſon which he exerted was fondly to preſs the hand that is now writing this little narrative. He died on the 10th of January 1754, having juſt concluded the twenty-third annual collection †.

He

* The determination was left to Dr. Cromwell Mortimer and Dr. Birch, and by the latter the award was made, which may be ſeen in the Gent. Mag. vol. vi. p. 59.

† Mr. Cave was buried in the church of St. James, Clerkenwell, without an epitaph; but the following inſcription at Rugby, from

He was a man of a large ſtature, not only tall but bulky, and was, when young, of remarkable ſtrength and activity. He was generally healthful, and capable of much labour and long application; but in the latter years of his life was afflicted with the gout, which he endeavoured to cure or alleviate by a total abſtinence both from ſtrong liquors and animal food. From animal food he abſtained about four years, and from

from the pen of Dr. Hawkeſworth, is here tranſcribed from the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 88.

Near this place lies
The body of
JOSEPH CAVE,
Late of this pariſh;
Who departed this Life Nov. 18, 1747,
Aged 79 years.
He was placed by Providence in a humble ſtation;
But
Induſtry abundantly ſupplied the wants of Nature,
And
Temperance bleſt him with
Content and Wealth.
As he was an affectionate Father,
He was made happy in the decline of life
By the deſerved eminence of his eldeſt Son
EDWARD CAVE;
Who without intereſt, fortune, or connection,
By the native force of his own genius,
Aſſiſted only by a claſſical education,
Which he received at the Grammar-ſchool
Of this Town,
Planned, executed, and eſtabliſhed
A literary work, called
THE
GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE,
Whereby

from ſtrong liquors much longer; but the gout continued unconquered, perhaps unabated.

His reſolution and perſeverance were very uncommon; in whatever he undertook, neither expence nor fatigue were able to repreſs him: but his conſtancy was calm, and to thoſe who did not know him appeared faint and languid; but he always went forward, though he moved ſlowly.

The ſame chilneſs of mind was obſervable in his converſation: he was watching the minuteſt accent of thoſe whom he diſguſted by ſeeming inattention; and his viſitant was ſurprized when he came a ſecond time, by preparations to execute the ſcheme which he ſuppoſed never to have been heard.

He

Whereby he acquir'd an ample fortune,
The whole of which devolved to his family.
Here alſo lies
The body of WILLIAM CAVE,
Second Son of the ſaid JOSEPH CAVE,
Who died May 2, 1757, aged 62 years;
And who having ſurvived his elder brother
EDWARD CAVE,
Inherited from him a competent eſtate;
And, in gratitude to his benefactor,
Ordered this monument to perpetuate his memory.

He liv'd a patriarch in his numerous race,
And ſhew'd in charity a Chriſtian's grace:
Whate'er a friend or parent feels, he knew;
His hand was open and his heart was true;
In what he gain'd and gave, he taught mankind,
A grateful always is a generous mind.
Here reſt his clay! his ſoul muſt ever reſt,
Who bleſs'd when living, dying muſt be bleſt.

He was, confiftently with this general tranquillity of mind, a tenacious maintainer, though not a clamorous demander of his right. In his youth having fummoned his fellow journeymen to confert meafures againft the oppreffion of their mafters, he mounted a kind of roftrum, and harangued them fo efficacioufly, that they determined to refift all future invafions; and when the ftamp officers demanded to ftamp the laft half fheet of the Magazines, Mr. Cave alone defeated their claim, to which the proprietors of the rival Magazines would meanly have fubmitted.

He was a friend rather eafy and conftant, than zealous and active; yet many inftances might be given, where both his money and his diligence were employed liberally for others. His enmity was in like manner cool and deliberate; but though cool, it was not infidious, and though deliberate, not pertinacious.

His mental faculties were flow. He faw little at a time, but that little he faw with great exactnefs. He was long in finding the right, but feldom failed to find it at laft. His affections were not eafily gained, and his opinions not quickly difcovered. His referve, as it might hide his faults, concealed his virtues: but fuch he was, as they who beft knew him have moft lamented.

KING OF PRUSSIA*.

CHARLES FREDERICK the present king of Pruſſia, whoſe actions and deſigns now keep Europe in attention, is the eldeſt ſon of Frederick William by Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George the Firſt king of England. He was born January 24, 1711-12. Of his early years nothing remarkable has been tranſmitted to us. As he advanced towards manhood, he became remarkable by his diſagreement with his father.

The late king of Pruſſia was of a diſpoſition violent and arbitrary, of narrow views, and vehement paſſions, earneſtly engaged in little purſuits, or in ſchemes terminating in ſome ſpeedy conſequence, without any plan of laſting advantage to himſelf or his ſubjects, or any proſpect of diſtant events. He was therefore always buſy though no effects of his activity ever appeared, and always eager though he had nothing to gain. His behaviour was to the laſt degree rough and ſavage. The leaſt provocation, whether deſigned or accidental, was returned by blows, which he did not always forbear to the queen and princeſſes.

* Firſt printed in the Literary Magazine for 1756.

From

From ſuch a king and ſuch a father it was not any enormous violation of duty in the immediate heir of a kingdom ſometimes to differ in opinion, and to maintain that difference with decent pertinacity. A prince of a quick ſagacity and comprehenſive knowledge muſt find many practices in the conduct of affairs which he could not approve, and ſome which he could ſcarcely forbear to oppoſe.

The chief pride of the old king was to be maſter of the talleſt regiment in Europe. He therefore brought together from all parts men above the common military ſtandard. To exceed the height of ſix feet was a certain recommendation to notice, and to approach that of ſeven a claim to diſtinction. Men will readily go where they are ſure to be careſſed; and he had therefore ſuch a collection of giants as perhaps was never ſeen in the world before.

To review this towering regiment was his daily pleaſure, and to perpetuate it was ſo much his care, that when he met a tall woman, he immediately commanded one of his Titanian retinue to marry her, that they might propagate procerity, and produce heirs to the father's habiliments.

In all this there was apparent folly, but there was no crime. The tall regiment made a fine ſhew at an expence not much greater, when once it was collected, than would have been beſtowed upon common men. But the king's military paſtimes were ſometimes more pernicious. He maintained a numerous army, of which he made no other uſe than to review and to talk of it; and when he, or perhaps his emiſſaries, ſaw a boy, whoſe form and ſprightlineſs promiſed a future ſoldier, he ordered a kind of badge

to

to be put about his neck, by which he was marked out for the ſervice, like the ſons of Chriſtian captives in Turkey; and his parents were forbidden to deſtine him to any other mode of life.

This was ſufficiently oppreſſive, but this was not the utmoſt of his tyranny. He had learned, though otherwiſe perhaps no very great politician, that to be rich was to be powerful; but that the riches of a king ought to be ſeen in the opulence of his ſubjects, he wanted either ability or benevolence to underſtand. He therefore raiſed exorbitant taxes from every kind of commodity and poſſeſſion, and piled up the money in his treaſury, from which it iſſued no more. How the land which had paid taxes once was to pay them a ſecond time, how impoſts could be levied without commerce, or commerce continued without money, it was not his cuſtom to enquire. Eager to ſnatch at money, and delighted to count it, he felt new joy at every receipt, and thought himſelf enriched by the impoveriſhment of his dominions.

By which of theſe freaks of royalty the prince was offended, or whether, as perhaps more frequently happens, the offences of which he complained were of a domeſtick and perſonal kind, it is not eaſy to diſcover. But his reſentment, whatever was its cauſe, roſe ſo high, that he reſolved not only to leave his father's court, but his territories, and to ſeek a refuge among the neighbouring or kindred princes. It is generally believed that his intention was to come to England, and live under the protection of his uncle, till his father's death, or change of conduct, ſhould give him liberty to return.

His

His defign, whatever it was, he concerted with an officer in the army whofe name was Kat, a man in whom he placed great confidence, and whom, having chofen him for the companion of his flight, he neceffarily trufted with the preparatory meafures. A prince cannot leave his country with the fpeed of a meaner fugitive. Something was to be provided, and fomething to be adjufted. And, whether Kat found the agency of others neceffary, and therefore was conftrained to admit fome partners of the fecret; whether levity or vanity incited him to difburden himfelf of a truft that fwelled in his bofom, or to fhew to a friend or miftrefs his own importance; or whether it be in itfelf difficult for princes to tranfact any thing in fecret; fo it was, that the king was informed of the intended flight, and the prince and his favourite, a little before the time fettled for their departure, were arrefted, and confined in different places.

The life of princes is feldom in danger, the hazard of their irregularities falls only on thofe whom ambition or affection combines with them. The king, after an imprifonment of fome time, fet his fon at liberty; but poor Kat was ordered to be tried for a capital crime. The court examined the caufe, and acquitted him; the king remanded him to a fecond trial, and obliged his judges to condemn him. In confequence of the fentence thus tyrannically extorted, he was publickly beheaded, leaving behind him fome papers of reflections made in the prifon, which were afterwards printed, and among others an admonition to the prince, for whofe fake he fuffered, not to fofter

in himſelf the opinion of deſtiny, for that a Provi-dence is diſcoverable in every thing round us.

This cruel proſecution of a man who had committed no crime, but by compliance with influence not eaſily to be reſiſted, was not the only act by which the old king irritated his ſon. A lady with whom the prince was ſuſpected of intimacy, perhaps more than virtue allowed, was ſeized, I know not upon what accuſation, and, by the king's order, notwithſtanding all the reaſon of decency and tenderneſs that operate in other countries, and other judicatures, was publickly whipped in the ſtreets of Berlin.

At laſt, that the prince might feel the power of a king and a father in its utmoſt rigour, he was in 1733 married againſt his will to the princeſs Elizabetha Chriſtina of Brunſwick Lunenburg Beveren. He married her indeed at his father's command, but without profeſſing for her either eſteem or affection, and, conſidering the claim of parental authority fully ſatisfied by the external ceremony, obſtinately and perpetually during the life of his father refrained from her bed. The poor princeſs lived about ſeven years in the court of Berlin, in a ſtate which the world has not often ſeen, a wife without a huſband, married ſo far as to engage her perſon to a man who did not deſire her affection, and of whom it was doubtful whether he thought himſelf reſtrained from the power of repudiation by an act performed under evident compulſion.

Thus he lived ſecluded from publick buſineſs, in contention with his father, in alienation from his wife. This ſtate of uneaſineſs he found the only means

means of ſoftening. He diverted his mind from the ſcenes about him by ſtudies and liberal amuſements. The ſtudies of princes ſeldom produce great effects, for princes draw with meaner mortals the lot of underſtanding; and ſince of many ſtudents not more than one can be hoped to advance far towards perfection, it is ſcarcely to be expected that we ſhould find that one a prince; that the deſire of ſcience ſhould overpower in any mind the love of pleaſure when it is always preſent or always within call; that laborious meditation ſhould be preferred in the days of youth to amuſements and feſtivity; or that perſeverance ſhould preſs forward in contempt of flattery; and that he, in whom moderate acquiſitions would be extolled as prodigies, ſhould exact from himſelf that excellence of which the whole world conſpires to ſpare him the neceſſity.

In every great performance, perhaps in every great character, part is the gift of nature, part the contribution of accident, and part, very often not the greateſt part, the effect of voluntary election, and regular deſign. The king of Pruſſia was undoubtedly born with more than common abilities; but that he has cultivated them with more than common diligence was probably the effect of his peculiar condition, of that which he then conſidered as cruelty and misfortune.

In this long interval of unhappineſs and obſcurity he acquired ſkill in the mathematical ſciences, ſuch as is ſaid to put him on the level with thoſe who have made them the buſineſs of their lives. This is probably to ſay too much: the acquiſitions of kings are always magnified. His ſkill in poetry and in the

French language have been loudly praiſed by Voltaire, a judge without exception, if his honeſty were equal to his knowledge. Muſick he not only underſtands but practiſes on the German flute in the higheſt perfection; ſo that, according to the regal cenſure of Philip of Macedon, he may be aſhamed to play ſo well.

He may be ſaid to owe to the difficulties of his youth an advantage leſs frequently obtained by princes than literature and mathematicks. The neceſſity of paſſing his time without pomp, and of partaking of the pleaſures and labours of a lower ſtation, made him acquainted with the various forms of life, and with the genuine paſſions, intereſts, deſires, and diſtreſſes, of mankind. Kings without this help from temporary infelicity ſee the world in a miſt, which magnifies every thing near them, and bounds their view to a narrow compaſs, which few are able to extend by the mere force of curioſity. I have always thought that what Cromwell had more than our lawful kings, he owed to the private condition in which he firſt entered the world, and in which he long continued; in that ſtate he learned his art of ſecret tranſaction, and the knowledge by which he was able to oppoſe zeal to zeal, and make one enthuſiaſt deſtroy another.

The king of Pruſſia gained the ſame arts, and, being born to fairer opportunities of uſing them, brought to the throne the knowledge of a private man without the guilt of uſurpation. Of this general acquaintance with the world there may be found ſome traces in his whole life. His converſation is like that of other men upon common topics, his let-

ters have an air of familiar elegance, and his whole conduct is that of a man who has to do with men, and who is ignorant what motives will prevail over friends or enemies.

In 1740 the old king fell fick, and fpoke and acted in his illnefs with his ufual turbulence and roughnefs, reproaching his phyficians in the groffeft terms with their unfkilfulnefs and impotence, and imputing to their ignorance or wickednefs the pain which their prefcriptions failed to relieve. Thefe infults they bore with the fubmiffion which is commonly paid to defpotick monarchs; till at laft the celebrated Hoffman was confulted, who failing like the reft to give eafe to his majefty, was like the reft treated with injurious language. Hoffman, confcious of his own merit, replied, that he could not bear reproaches which he did not deferve; that he had tried all the remedies that art could fupply, or nature could admit; that he was indeed a profeffor by his majefty's bounty; but that, if his abilities or integrity were doubted, he was willing to leave not only the univerfity but the kingdom, and that he could not be driven into any place where the name of Hoffman would want refpect. The king, however unaccuftomed to fuch returns, was ftruck with conviction of his own indecency, told Hoffman that he had fpoken well, and requefted him to continue his attendance.

The king, finding his diftemper gaining upon his ftrength, grew at laft fenfible that his end was approaching, and, ordering the prince to be called to his bed, laid feveral injunctions upon him, of which one was to perpetuate the tall regiment by continual

recruits, and another to receive his eſpouſed wife. The prince gave him a reſpectful anſwer, but wiſely avoided to diminiſh his own right or power by an abſolute promiſe; and the king died uncertain of the fate of the tall regiment.

The young king began his reign with great expectations, which he has yet ſurpaſſed. His father's faults produced many advantages to the firſt years of his reign. He had an army of ſeventy thouſand men well diſciplined, without any imputation of ſeverity to himſelf, and was maſter of a vaſt treaſure without the crime or reproach of raiſing it. It was publickly ſaid in our houſe of commons, that he had eight millions ſterling of our money; but I believe, he that ſaid it had not conſidered how difficultly eight millions would be found in all the Pruſſian dominions. Men judge of what they do not ſee by that which they ſee. We are uſed to talk in England of millions with great familiarity, and imagine that there is the ſame affluence of money in other countries, in countries whoſe manufactures are few, and commerce little.

Every man's firſt cares are neceſſarily domeſtick. The king, being now no longer under influence or its appearance, determined how to act towards the unhappy lady who had poſſeſſed for ſeven years the empty title of the princeſs of Pruſſia. The papers of thoſe times exhibited the converſation of their firſt interview; as if the king, who plans campaigns in ſilence, would not accommodate a difference with his wife, but with writers of news admitted as witneſſes. It is certain that he received her as queen, but whether he treats her as a wife is yet in diſpute.

In

In a few days his reſolution was known with regard to the tall regiment; for ſome recruits being offered him, he rejected them; and this body of giants, by continued diſregard, mouldered away.

He treated his mother with great reſpect, ordered that ſhe ſhould bear the title of *Queen-mother*, and that, inſtead of addreſſing him as *His Majeſty*, ſhe ſhould only call him *Son*.

As he was paſſing ſoon after between Berlin and Potſdam, a thouſand boys who had been marked out for military ſervice, ſurrounded his coach, and cried out, "Merciful king, deliver us from our ſlavery." He promiſed them their liberty, and ordered the next day that the badge ſhould be taken off.

He ſtill continued that correſpondence with learned men which he began when he was prince; and the eyes of all ſcholars, a race of mortals formed for dependance, were upon him, as a man likely to renew the times of patronage, and to emulate the bounties of Lewis the Fourteenth.

It ſoon appeared that he was reſolved to govern with very little miniſterial aſſiſtance: he took cognizance of every thing with his own eyes; declared that in all contrarieties of intereſt between him and his ſubjects, the publick good ſhould have the preference; and in one of the firſt exertions of regal power baniſhed the prime miniſter and favourite of his father, as one that had *betrayed his maſter, and abuſed his truſt.*

He then declared his reſolution to grant a general toleration of religion, and among other liberalities of conceſſion allowed the profeſſion of Free Maſonry. It is the great taint of his character, that he has

given reafon to doubt, whether this toleration is the effect of charity or indifference, whether he means to fupport good men of every religion, or confiders all religions as equally good.

There had fubfifted for fome time in Pruffia an order called the *Order for favour*, which, according to its denomination, had been conferred with very little diftinction. The king inftituted the *Order for merit*, with which he honoured thofe whom he confidered as deferving. There were fome who thought their merit not fufficiently recompenfed by this new title; but he was not very ready to grant pecuniary rewards. Thofe who were moft in his favour he fometimes prefented with fnuff-boxes, on which was infcribed *Amitie augmente le prix*.

He was however charitable if not liberal, for he ordered the magiftrates of the feveral diftricts to be very attentive to the relief of the poor; and if the funds eftablifhed for that ufe were not fufficient, permitted that the deficiency fhould be fupplied out of the revenues of the town.

One of his firft cares was the advancement of learning. Immediately upon his acceffion, he wrote to Rollin and Voltaire, that he defired the continuance of their friendfhip; and fent for Mr. Maupertuis, the principal of the French academicians, who paffed a winter in Lapland, to verify, by the menfuration of a degree near the Pole, the Newtonian doctrine of the form of the earth. He requefted of Maupertuis to come to Berlin, to fettle an academy, in terms of great ardour and great condefcenfion.

At the fame time, he fhewed the world that literary amufements were not likely, as has more than

once

once happened to royal ſtudents, to withdraw him from the care of the kingdom, or make him forget his intereſt. He began by reviving a claim to Herſtal and Hermal, two diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of the biſhop of Liege. When he ſent his commiſſary to demand the homage of the inhabitants, they refuſed him admiſſion, declaring that they acknowledged no ſovereign but the biſhop. The king then wrote a letter to the biſhop, in which he complained of the violation of his right, and the contempt of his authority, charged the prelate with countenancing the late act of diſobedience, and required an anſwer in two days.

In three days the anſwer was ſent, in which the biſhop founds his claim to the two lordſhips upon a grant of Charles the Fifth, guarantied by France and Spain; alledges that his predeceſſors had enjoyed this grant above a century, and that he never intended to infringe the rights of Pruſſia; but as the houſe of Brandenburg had always made ſome pretenſions to that territory, he was willing to do what other biſhops had offered, to purchaſe that claim for an hundred thouſand crowns.

To every man that knows the ſtate of the feudal countries, the intricacy of their pedigrees, the confuſion of their alliances, and the different rules of inheritance that prevail in different places, it will appear evident, that of reviving antiquated claims there can be no end, and that the poſſeſſion of a century is a better title than can commonly be produced. So long a preſcription ſuppoſes an acquieſcence in the other claimants; and that acquieſcence ſuppoſes alſo ſome reaſon, perhaps now unknown, for which the

claim was forborn. Whether this rule could be considered as valid in the controversy between these sovereigns may however be doubted, for the bishop's answer seems to imply, that the title of the house of Brandenburg had been kept alive by repeated claims, though the seizure of the territory had been hitherto forborn.

The king did not suffer his claim to be subjected to any altercations, but, having published a declaration in which he charged the bishop with violence and injustice, and remarked that the feudal laws allowed every man, whose possession was withheld from him, to enter it with an armed force, he immediately dispatched two thousand soldiers into the controverted countries, where they lived without controul, exercising every kind of military tyranny, till the cries of the inhabitants forced the bishop to relinquish them to the quiet government of Prussia.

This was but a petty acquisition; the time was now come when the king of Prussia was to form and execute greater designs. On the 9th of October 1740, half Europe was thrown into confusion by the death of Charles the Sixth, emperor of Germany, by whose death all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria descended, according to the pragmatick sanction, to his eldest daughter, who was married to the duke of Lorrain, at the time of the emperor's death, duke of Tuscany.

By how many securities the pragmatick sanction was fortified, and how little it was regarded when those securities became necessary: how many claimants started up at once to the several dominions of the house of Austria: how vehemently their pretensions were

were enforced, and how many invaſions were threatened or attempted: the diſtreſſes of the emperor's daughter, known for ſeveral years by the title only of the Queen of Hungary, becauſe Hungary was the only country to which her claim had not been diſputed: the firmneſs with which ſhe ſtruggled with her difficulties, and the good fortune by which ſhe ſurmounted them: the narrow plan of this eſſay will not ſuffer me to relate. Let them be told by ſome other writer of more leiſure and wider intelligence.

Upon the emperor's death, many of the German princes fell upon the Auſtrian territories as upon a dead carcaſe, to be diſmembered among them without reſiſtance. Among theſe, with whatever juſtice, certainly with very little generoſity, was the king of Pruſſia, who, having aſſembled his troops, as was imagined to ſupport the pragmatick ſanction, on a ſudden entered Sileſia with thirty thouſand men, publiſhing a declaration, in which he diſclaims any deſign of injuring the rights of the houſe of Auſtria, but urges his claim to Sileſia, as riſing *from ancient conventions of family and confraternity between the houſe of* Brandenburg *and the princes of* Sileſia, *and other honourable titles*. He ſays, the fear of being defeated by other pretenders to the Auſtrian dominions, obliged him to enter Sileſia without any previous expoſtulation with the queen, and that he ſhall *ſtrenuouſly eſpouſe the intereſts of the houſe of* Auſtria.

Such a declaration was, I believe, in the opinion of all Europe, nothing leſs than the aggravation of hoſtility by inſult, and was received by the Auſtrians with ſuitable indignation. The king purſued his purpoſe, marched forward, and in the frontiers of Si-

lesia made a speech to his followers, in which he told them, that he considered them rather "as friends "than subjects, that the troops of Brandenburg had "been always eminent for their bravery, that they "would always fight in his presence, and that he "would recompence those who should distinguish "themselves in his service, rather as a father than "as a king."

The civilities of the great are never thrown away. The soldiers would naturally follow such a leader with alacrity; especially because they expected no opposition: but human expectations are frequently deceived.

Entering thus suddenly into a country which he was supposed rather likely to protect than to invade, he acted for some time with absolute authority; but supposing that this submission would not always last, he endeavoured to persuade the queen to a cession of Silesia, imagining that she would easily be persuaded to yield what was already lost. He therefore ordered his ministers to declare at Vienna, "that he was "ready to guaranty all the German dominions of "the house of Austria: that he would conclude a "treaty with Austria, Russia, and the Maritime "powers: that he would endeavour that the duke of "Lorrain should be elected emperor, and believed "that he could accomplish it: that he would imme-"diately advance to the queen two millions of flo-"rins: that, in recompense for all this, he required "Silesia to be yielded to him."

These seem not to be the offers of a prince very much convinced of his own right. He afterwards moderated his claim, and ordered his minister to hint at Vienna, that half of Silesia would content him.

The

The queen anſwered, that though the king alledged, as his reaſon for entering Sileſia, the danger of the Auſtrian territories from other pretenders, and endeavoured to perſuade her to give up part of her poſſeſſions for the preſervation of the reſt, it was evident that he was the firſt and only invader, and that, till he entered in a hoſtile manner, all her eſtates were unmoleſted.

To his promiſes of aſſiſtance ſhe replied, "that "ſhe ſet an high value on the king of Pruſſia's "friendſhip; but that he was already obliged to aſſiſt "her againſt invaders, both by the golden bull, and "the pragmatick ſanction, of which he was a guarantee; and that, if theſe ties were of no force, ſhe "knew not what to hope from other engagements." Of his offers of alliances with Ruſſia and the Maritime powers, ſhe obſerved, that it could be never fit to alienate her dominions for the conſolidation of an alliance formed only to keep them intire.

With regard to his intereſt in the election of an emperor, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude in ſtrong terms; but added, that the election ought to be free, and that it muſt be neceſſarily embarraſſed by contentions thus raiſed in the heart of the empire. Of the pecuniary aſſiſtance propoſed ſhe remarks, that no prince ever made war to oblige another to take money, and that the contributions already levied in Sileſia exceed the two millions offered as its purchaſe.

She concluded, that as ſhe values the king's friendſhip, ſhe was willing to purchaſe it by any compliance but the diminution of her dominions, and exhorted him to perform his part in ſupport of the pragmatick ſanction.

The king, finding negociation thus ineffectual, pushed forward his inroads, and now began to show how secretly he could take his measures. When he called a council of war, he proposed the question in a few words: all his generals wrote their opinions in his presence upon separate papers, which he carried away, and, examining them in private, formed his resolution without imparting it otherwise than by his orders.

He began, not without policy, to seize first upon the estates of the clergy, an order every where necessary, and every where envied. He plundered the convents of their stores of provision; and told them, that he never had heard of any magazines erected by the apostles.

This insult was mean, because it was unjust; but those who could not resist were obliged to bear it. He proceeded in his expedition; and a detachment of his troops took Jablunca, one of the strong places of Silesia, which was soon after abandoned, for want of provisions, which the Austrian hussars, who were now in motion, were busy to interrupt.

One of the most remarkable events of the Silesia war, was the conquest of Great Glogaw, which was taken by an assault in the dark, headed by prince Leopold of Anhault Dessau. They arrived at the foot of the fortifications about twelve at night, and in two hours were masters of the place. In attempts of this kind many accidents happen which cannot be heard without surprise. Four Prussian grenadiers who had climbed the ramparts, missing their own company, met an Austrian captain with fifty-two men: they were at first frighted, and were about to

retreat;

retreat; but, gathering courage, commanded the Auſtrians to lay down their arms, and in the terror of darkneſs and confuſion were unexpectedly obeyed.

At the ſame time a conſpiracy to kill or carry away the king of Pruſſia was ſaid to be diſcovered. The Pruſſians publiſhed a memorial, in which the Auſtrian court was accuſed of employing emiſſaries and aſſaſſins againſt the king; and it was alleged, in direct terms, that one of them had confeſſed himſelf obliged by oath to deſtroy him, which oath had been given him in an Aulic council in the preſence of the duke of Lorrain.

To this the Auſtrians anſwered, "that the character of the queen and duke was too well known "not to deſtroy the force of ſuch an accuſation, "that the tale of the confeſſion was an impoſture, "and that no ſuch attempt was ever made."

Each party was now inflamed, and orders were given to the Auſtrian general to hazard a battle. The two armies met at Molwitz, and parted without a complete victory on either ſide. The Auſtrians quitted the field in good order; and the king of Pruſſia rode away upon the firſt diſorder of his troops, without waiting for the laſt event. This attention to his perſonal ſafety has not yet been forgotten.

After this there was no action of much importance. But the king of Pruſſia, irritated by oppoſition, transferred his intereſt in the election to the duke of Bavaria; and the queen of Hungary, now attacked by France, Spain, and Bavaria, was obliged to make peace with him at the expence of half Sileſia, without procuring thoſe advantages which were once offered her.

To

To enlarge dominions has been the boaſt of many princes; to diffuſe happineſs and ſecurity through wide regions has been granted to few. The king of Pruſſia has aſpired to both theſe honours, and endeavoured to join the praiſe of legiſlator to that of conqueror.

To ſettle property, to ſuppreſs falſe claims, and to regulate the adminiſtration of civil and criminal juſtice, are attempts ſo difficult and ſo uſeful, that I ſhall willingly ſuſpend or contract the hiſtory of battles and ſieges, to give a larger account of this pacifick enterprize.

That the king of Pruſſia has conſidered the nature, and the reaſons of laws, with more attention than is common to princes, appears from his diſſertation on the *Reaſons for enacting and repealing Laws*; a piece which yet deſerves notice, rather as a proof of good inclination than of great ability: for there is nothing to be found in it more than the moſt obvious books may ſupply, or the weakeſt intellect diſcover. Some of his obſervations are juſt and uſeful; but upon ſuch a ſubject who can think without often thinking right? It is however not to be omitted, that he appears always propenſe towards the ſide of mercy. "If a "poor man," ſays he, "ſteals in his want a watch, "or a few pieces, from one to whom the loſs is in"conſiderable, is this a reaſon for condemning him "to death?"

He regrets that the laws againſt duels have been ineffectual; and is of opinion, that they can never attain their end, unleſs the princes of Europe ſhall agree not to afford an aſylum to duelliſts, and to puniſh all who ſhall inſult their equals either by

word, deed, or writing. He ſeems to ſuſpect this ſcheme of being chimerical. "Yet why," ſays he, "ſhould not perſonal quarrels be ſubmitted to judges, "as well as queſtions of poſſeſſion? and why ſhould "not a congreſs be appointed for the general good "of mankind, as well as for ſo many purpoſes of leſs "importance?"

He declares himſelf with great ardour againſt the uſe of torture, and by ſome miſinformation charges the Engliſh that they ſtill retain it.

It is perhaps impoſſible to review the laws of any country without diſcovering many defects and many ſuperfluities. Laws often continue, when their reaſons have ceaſed. Laws made for the firſt ſtate of the ſociety continue unaboliſhed, when the general form of life is changed. Parts of the judicial procedure, which were at firſt only accidental, become in time eſſential; and formalities are accumulated on each other, till the art of litigation requires more ſtudy, than the diſcovery of right.

The king of Pruſſia, examining the inſtitutions of his own country, thought them ſuch as could only be amended by a general abrogation, and the eſtabliſhment of a new body of law, to which he gave the name of the Code Frederique, which is compriſed in one volume of no great bulk, and muſt therefore unavoidably contain general poſitions, to be accommodated to particular caſes by the wiſdom and integrity of the courts. To embarraſs juſtice by multiplicity of laws, or to hazard it by confidence in judges, ſeem to be the oppoſite rocks on which all civil inſtitutions have been wrecked, and between

which

which legiſlative wiſdom has never yet found an open paſſage.

Of this new ſyſtem of laws, contracted as it is, a full account cannot be expected in theſe memoirs; but, that curioſity may not be diſmiſſed without ſome gratification, it has been thought proper to epitomiſe the king's *plan for the reformation of his courts*.

"The differences which ariſe between members "of the ſame ſociety, may be terminated by a volun-"tary agreement between the parties, by arbitration, "or by a judicial proceſs.

"The two firſt methods produce more frequently "a temporary ſuſpenſion of diſputes than a final ter-"mination. Courts of juſtice are therefore neceſ-"ſary, with a ſettled method of procedure, of which "the moſt ſimple is to cite the parties, to hear their "pleas, and diſmiſs them with immediate deciſion.

"This however is in many caſes impracticable, "and in others is ſo ſeldom practiſed, that it is fre-"quent rather to incur loſs than to ſeek for legal "reparation, by entering a labyrinth of which there "is no end.

"This tedioufneſs of ſuits keeps the parties in "diſquiet and perturbation, rouſes and perpetuates "animoſities, exhauſts the litigants by expence, re-"tards the progreſs of their fortune, and diſcourages "ſtrangers from ſettling.

"Theſe inconveniencies, with which the beſt regu-"lated polities of Europe are embarraſſed, muſt be "removed, not by the total prohibition of ſuits, "which is impoſſible, but by contraction of proceſſes; "by opening an eaſy way for the appearance of

"truth,

" truth, and removing all obſtructions by which it is
" concealed.

" The ordonance of 1667, by which Lewis the
" Fourteenth eſtabliſhed an uniformity of procedure
" through all his courts, has been conſidered as one
" of the greateſt benefits of his reign.

" The king of Pruſſia, obſerving that each of his
" provinces had a different method of judicial proce-
" dure, propoſed to reduce them all to one form;
" which being tried with ſucceſs in Pomerania, a
" province remarkable for contention, he after-
" wards extended to all his dominions, ordering the
" judges to inform him of any difficulties which aroſe
" from it.

" Some ſettled method is neceſſary in judicial pro-
" cedures. Small and ſimple cauſes might be de-
" cided upon the oral pleas of the two parties appear-
" ing before the judge: but many caſes are ſo en-
" tangled and perplexed as to require all the ſkill
" and abilities of thoſe who devote their lives to the
" ſtudy of the law.

" Advocates, or men who can underſtand and ex-
" plain the queſtion to be diſcuſſed, are therefore
" neceſſary. But theſe men, inſtead of endeavouring
" to promote juſtice and diſcover truth, have exerted
" their wits in the defence of bad cauſes, by forgeries
" of facts, and fallacies of argument.

" To remedy this evil, the king has ordered an
" inquiry into the qualifications of the advocates. All
" thoſe who practiſe without a regular admiſſion, or
" who can be convicted of diſingenuous practice, are
" diſcarded. And the judges are commanded to
" examine which of the cauſes now depending have

" been protracted by the crimes and ignorance of the " advocates, and to difmifs thofe who fhall appear " culpable.

" When advocates are too numerous to live by " honeft practice, they bufy themfelves in exciting " difputes, and difturbing the community: the num- " ber of thefe to be employed in each court is there- " fore fixed.

" The reward of the advocates is fixed with due " regard to the nature of the caufe, and the labour " required; but not a penny is received by them till " the fuit is ended, that it may be their intereft, as " well as that of the clients, to fhorten the procefs.

" No advocate is admitted in petty courts, fmall " towns, or villages; where the poverty of the people, " and for the moft part the low value of the matter " contefted, make difpatch abfolutely neceffary. In " thofe places the parties fhall appear in perfon, and " the judge make a fummary decifion.

" There muft likewife be allowed a fubordination " of tribunals, and a power of appeal. No judge is " fo fkilful and attentive as not fometimes to err. " Few are fo honeft as not fometimes to be partial. " Petty judges would become infupportably tyranni- " cal if they were not reftrained by the fear of a fu- " perior judicature; and their decifion would be neg- " ligent or arbitrary if they were not in danger of " feeing them examined and cancelled.

" The right of appeal muft be reftrained, that " caufes may not be transferred without end from " court to court; and a peremptory decifion muft at " laft be made.

" When

"When an appeal is made to a higher court, " the appellant is allowed only four weeks to frame " his bill, the judge of the lower court being to " tranſmit to the higher all the evidences and inform- " ations. If upon the firſt view of the cauſe thus " opened, it ſhall appear that the appeal was made " without juſt cauſe, the firſt ſentence ſhall be con- " firmed without citation of the defendant. If any " new evidence ſhall appear, or any doubts ariſe, " both the parties ſhall be heard.

"In the diſcuſſion of cauſes altercation muſt be " allowed; yet to altercation ſome limits muſt be " put. There are therefore allowed a bill, an an- " ſwer, a reply, and a rejoinder, to be delivered in " writing.

"No cauſe is allowed to be heard in more than " three different courts. To further the firſt deci- " ſion, every advocate is enjoined, under ſevere penal- " ties, not to begin a ſuit till he has collected all the " neceſſary evidence. If the firſt court has decided " in an unſatisfactory manner, an appeal may be " made to the ſecond, and from the ſecond to the " third. The proceſs in each appeal is limited to " ſix months. The third court may indeed paſs an " erroneous judgment; and then the injury is with- " out redreſs. But this objection is without end, " and therefore without force. No method can be " found of preſerving humanity from error; but of " conteſt there muſt ſome time be an end; and he, " who thinks himſelf injured for want of an appeal to " a fourth court, muſt conſider himſelf as ſuffering " for the public.

" There is a ſpecial advocate appointed for the
" poor.

" The attorneys, who had formerly the care of " collecting evidence, and of adjuſting all the preliminaries of a ſuit, are now totally diſmiſſed; the " whole affair is put into the hands of the advocates, and the office of an attorney is annulled for " ever.

" If any man is hindered by ſome lawful impediment from attending his ſuit, time will be " granted him upon the repreſentation of his " caſe."

Such is the order according to which civil juſtice is adminiſtered through the extenſive dominions of the king of Pruſſia; which, if it exhibits nothing very ſubtle or profound, affords one proof more that the right is eaſily diſcovered, and that men do not ſo often want ability to find, as willingneſs to practiſe it.

We now return to the war.

The time at which the queen of Hungary was willing to purchaſe peace by the reſignation of Sileſia, though it came at laſt, was not come yet. She had all the ſpirit, though not all the power of her anceſtors, and could not bear the thought of loſing any part of her patrimonial dominions to the enemies, which the opinion of her weakneſs raiſed every where againſt her.

In the beginning of the year 1742, the elector of Bavaria was inveſted with the imperial dignity, ſupported by the arms of France, maſter of the kingdom of Bohemia; and confederated with the elector Palatine,

tine, and the elector of Saxony, who claimed Moravia; and with the king of Pruſſia, who was in poſſeſſion of Sileſia.

Such was the ſtate of the queen of Hungary, preſſed on every ſide, and on every ſide preparing for reſiſtance: ſhe yet refuſed all offers of accommodation, for every prince ſet peace at a price which ſhe was not yet ſo far humbled as to pay.

The king of Pruſſia was among the moſt zealous and forward in the confederacy againſt her. He promiſed to ſecure Bohemia to the emperor, and Moravia to the elector of Saxony; and, finding no enemy in the field able to reſiſt him, he returned to Berlin, and left Schwerin his general to proſecute the conqueſt.

The Pruſſians in the midſt of winter took Olmutz, the capital of Moravia, and laid the whole country under contribution. The cold then hindered them from action, and they only blocked up the fortreſſes of Brinn and Spielberg.

In the ſpring, the king of Pruſſia came again into the field, and undertook the ſiege of Brinn; but upon the approach of prince Charles of Lorrain retired from before it, and quitted Moravia, leaving only a garriſon in the capital.

The condition of the queen of Hungary was now changed. She was a few months before without money, without troops, incircled with enemies. The Bavarians had entered Auſtria, Vienna was threatened with a ſiege, and the queen left it to the fate of war, and retired into Hungary, where ſhe was received with zeal and affection, not unmingled however with that neglect which muſt always be borne

by greatneſs in diſtreſs. She bore the diſreſpect of her ſubjects with the ſame firmneſs as the outrages of her enemies; and at laſt perſuaded the Engliſh not to deſpair of her preſervation, by not deſpairing herſelf.

Voltaire in his late hiſtory has aſſerted, that a large ſum was raiſed for her ſuccour, by voluntary ſubſcriptions of the Engliſh ladies. It is the great failing of a ſtrong imagination to catch greedily at wonders. He was miſinformed, and was perhaps unwilling to learn by a ſecond enquiry, a truth leſs ſplendid and amuſing. A contribution was by news-writers, upon their own authority, fruitleſly, and, I think, illegally propoſed. It ended in nothing. The parliament voted a ſupply, and five hundred thouſand pounds were remitted to her.

It has been always the weakneſs of the Auſtrian family to ſpend in the magnificence of empire thoſe revenues which ſhould be kept for its defence. The court is ſplendid, but the treaſury is empty; and, at the beginning of every war, advantages are gained againſt them, before their armies can be aſſembled and equipped.

The Engliſh money was to the Auſtrians as a ſhower to a field, where all the vegetative powers are kept unactive by a long continuance of drought. The armies, which had hitherto been hid in mountains and foreſts, ſtarted out of their retreats; and whereever the queen's ſtandard was erected, nations ſcarcely known by their names ſwarmed immediately about it. An army, eſpecially a defenſive army, multiplies itſelf. The contagion of enterprize ſpreads from one heart to another. Zeal for a native or de-

teſtation of a foreign ſovereign, hope of ſudden greatneſs or riches, friendſhip or emulation between particular men, or, what are perhaps more general and powerful, deſire of novelty and impatience of inactivity, fill a camp with adventurers, add rank to rank, and ſquadron to ſquadron.

The queen had ſtill enemies on every part, but ſhe now on every part had armies ready to oppoſe them. Auſtria was immediately recovered ; the plains of Bohemia were filled with her troops, though the fortreſſes were garriſoned by the French. The Bavarians were recalled to the defence of their own country, now waſted by the incurſions of troops that were called Barbarians, greedy enough of plunder, and daring perhaps beyond the rules of war, but otherwiſe not more cruel than thoſe whom they attacked. Prince Lobkowitz with one army obſerved the motions of Broglio, the French general in Bohemia ; and prince Charles with another put a ſtop to the advances of the king of Pruſſia.

It was now the turn of the Pruſſians to retire. They abandoned Olmutz, and left behind them part of their cannon and their magazines. And the king, finding that Broglio could not long oppoſe prince Lobkowitz, haſtened into Bohemia to his aſſiſtance ; and having received a reinforcement of twenty-three thouſand men, and taken the caſtle of Glatz, which, being built upon a rock, ſcarcely acceſſible, would have defied all his power, had the garriſon been furniſhed with proviſions, he purpoſed to join his allies, and proſecute his conqueſts.

Prince Charles, ſeeing Moravia thus evacuated by the Pruſſians, determined to garriſon the towns which

he had juſt recovered, and purſue the enemy, who, by the aſſiſtance of the French, would have been too powerful for prince Lobkowitz.

Succeſs had now given confidence to the Auſtrians, and had proportionably abated the ſpirit of their enemies. The Saxons, who had co-operated with the king of Pruſſia in the conqueſt of Moravia, of which they expected the perpetual poſſeſſion, ſeeing all hopes of ſudden acquiſition defeated, and the province left again to its former maſters, grew weary of following a prince, whom they conſidered as no longer acting the part of their confederate; and when they approached the confines of Bohemia took a different road, and left the Pruſſians to their own fortune.

The king continued his march, and Charles his purſuit. At Czaſlaw the two armies came in ſight of one another, and the Auſtrians reſolved on a deciſive day. On the 6th of May, about ſeven in the morning, the Auſtrians began the attack: their impetuoſity was matched by the firmneſs of the Pruſſians. The animoſity of the two armies was much inflamed: the Auſtrians were fighting for their country, and the Pruſſians were in a place where defeat muſt inevitably end in death or captivity. The fury of the battle continued four hours: the Pruſſian horſe were at length broken, and the Auſtrians forced their way to the camp, where the wild troops, who had fought with ſo much vigour and conſtancy, at the ſight of plunder forgot their obedience, nor had any man the leaſt thought but how to load himſelf with the richeſt ſpoils.

While

While the right wing of the Auſtrians was thus employed, the main body was left naked: the Pruſſians recovered from their confuſion, and regained the day. Charles was at laſt forced to retire, and carried with him the ſtandard of his enemies, the proofs of a victory, which, though ſo nearly gained, he had not been able to keep.

The victory however was dearly bought; the Pruſſian army was much weakened, and the cavalry almoſt totally deſtroyed. Peace is eaſily made when it is neceſſary to both parties; and the king of Pruſſia had now reaſon to believe that the Auſtrians were not his only enemies. When he found Charles advancing, he ſent to Broglio for aſſiſtance, and was anſwered that "he muſt have orders from Ver-"ſailles." Such a deſertion of his moſt powerful ally diſconcerted him, but the battle was unavoidable.

When the Pruſſians were returned to the camp, the king, hearing that an Auſtrian officer was brought in mortally wounded, had the condeſcenſion to viſit him. The officer, ſtruck with this act of humanity, ſaid, after a ſhort converſation, "I ſhould "die, ſir, contentedly after this honour, if I might "firſt ſhew my gratitude to your majeſty by inform-"ing you with what allies you are now united, "allies that have no intention but to deceive you." The king appearing to ſuſpect this intelligence; "Sir," ſaid the Auſtrian, "if you will permit me "to ſend a meſſenger to Vienna, I believe the "queen will not refuſe to tranſmit an intercepted "letter now in her hands, which will put my re-"port beyond all doubt."

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The meſſenger was ſent, and the letter tranſmitted, which contained the order ſent to Broglio, who was, firſt forbidden to mix his troops on any occaſion with the Pruſſians. Secondly, he was ordered to act always at a diſtance from the king. Thirdly, to keep always a body of twenty thouſand men to obſerve the Pruſſian army. Fourthly, to obſerve very cloſely the motions of the king, for important reaſons. Fifthly, to hazard nothing; but to pretend want of reinforcements, or the abſence of Belliſle.

The king now with great reaſon conſidered himſelf as diſengaged from the confederacy, being deſerted by the Saxons, and betrayed by the French; he therefore accepted the mediation of king George, and in three weeks after the battle of Czaſlaw made peace with the queen of Hungary, who granted to him the whole province of Sileſia, a country of ſuch extent and opulence that he is ſaid to receive from it one third part of his revenues. By one of the articles of this treaty it is ſtipulated, "that neither "ſhould aſſiſt the enemies of the other."

The queen of Hungary thus diſentangled on one ſide, and ſet free from the moſt formidable of her enemies, ſoon perſuaded the Saxons to peace; took poſſeſſion of Bavaria; drove the emperor, after all his imaginary conqueſts, to the ſhelter of a neutral town, where he was treated as a fugitive; and beſieged the French in Prague, in the city which they had taken from her.

Having thus obtained Sileſia, the king of Pruſſia returned to his own capital, where he reformed his laws, forbid the torture of criminals, concluded a de-

fenſive

fensive alliance with England, and applied himself to the augmentation of his army.

This treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary was one of the first proofs, given by the king of Prussia, of the secresy of his counsels. Bellisle, the French general, was with him in the camp, as a friend and coadjutor in appearance, but in truth a spy, and a writer of intelligence. Men who have great confidence in their own penetration are often by that confidence deceived; they imagine that they can pierce through all the involutions of intrigue without the diligence necessary to weaker minds, and therefore sit idle and secure; they believe that none can hope to deceive them, and therefore that none will try. Bellisle, with all his reputation of sagacity, though he was in the Prussian camp, gave every day fresh assurances of the king's adherence to the allies; while Broglio, who commanded the army at a distance, discovered sufficient reason to suspect his desertion. Broglio was slighted, and Bellisle believed, till on the 11th of June the treaty was signed, and the king declared his resolution to keep a neutrality.

This is one of the great performances of polity which mankind seem agreed to celebrate and admire; yet to all this nothing was necessary but the determination of a very few men to be silent.

From this time the queen of Hungary proceeded with an uninterrupted torrent of success. The French, driven from station to station, and deprived of fortress after fortress, were at last enclosed with their two generals, Bellisle and Broglio, in the walls of Prague, which they had stored with all provisions necessary to a town besieged, and where they de-

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fended themfelves three months before any profpect appeared of relief.

The Auftrians, having been engaged chiefly in the field, and in fudden and tumultuary excurfions rather than a regular war, had no great degree of fkill in attacking or defending towns. They likewife would naturally confider all the mifchiefs done to the city as falling ultimately on themfelves, and therefore were willing to gain it by time rather than by force.

It was apparent that, how long foever Prague might be defended, it muft be yielded at laft, and therefore all arts were tried to obtain an honourable capitulation. The meffengers from the city were fent back fometimes unheard, but always with this anfwer, "that no terms would be allowed, but that "they fhould yield themfelves prifoners of war."

The condition of the garrifon was in the eyes of all Europe defperate; but the French, to whom the praife of fpirit and activity cannot be denied, refolved to make an effort for the honour of their arms. Maillebois was at that time encamped with his army in Weftphalia. Orders were fent him to relieve Prague. The enterprize was confidered as romantick. Maillebois was a march of forty days diftant from Bohemia, the paffes were narrow, and the ways foul; and it was likely that Prague would be taken before he could reach it. The march was, however, begun: the army, being joined by that of count Saxe, confifted of fifty thoufand men, who, notwithftanding all the difficulties which two Auftrian armies could put in their way, at laft entered Bohemia. The fiege of Prague, though not raifed, was remitted, and a communication was now opened to

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it with the country. But the Auftrians, by perpetual intervention, hindered the garrifon from joining their friends. The officers of Maillebois incited him to a battle, becaufe the army was hourly leffening by the want of provifions; but, inftead of preffing on to Prague, he retired into Bavaria, and completed the ruin of the emperor's territories.

The court of France, difappointed and offended, conferred the chief command upon Broglio, who efcaped from the befiegers with very little difficulty, and kept the Auftrians employed till Bellifle by a fudden fally quitted Prague, and without any great lofs joined the main army. Broglio then retired over the Rhine into the French dominions, wafting in his retreat the country which he had undertaken to protect, and burning towns, and deftroying magazines of corn, with fuch wantonnefs, as gave reafon to believe that he expected commendation from his court for any mifchiefs done, by whatever means.

The Auftrians purfued their advantages, recovered all their ftrong places, in fome of which French garrifons had been left, and made themfelves mafters of Bavaria, by taking not only Munich the capital, but Ingolftadt the ftrongeft fortification in the elector's dominions, where they found a great number of cannon and quantity of ammunition intended in the dreams of projected greatnefs for the fiege of Vienna, all the archives of the ftate, the plate and ornaments of the electoral palace, and what had been confidered as moft worthy of prefervation. Nothing but the warlike ftores were taken away. An oath of allegiance to the queen was required of the Bavarians, but without any explanation whether temporary or perpetual.

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The emperor lived at Francfort in the ſecurity that was allowed to neutral places, but without much reſpect from the German princes, except that, upon ſome objections made by the queen to the validity of his election, the king of Pruſſia declared himſelf determined to ſupport him in the imperial dignity with all his power.

This may be conſidered as a token of no great affection to the queen of Hungary, but it ſeems not to have raiſed much alarm. The German princes were afraid of new broils. To conteſt the election of an emperor once inveſted and acknowledged, would be to overthrow the whole Germanic conſtitution. Perhaps no election by plurality of ſuffrages was ever made among human beings, to which it might not be objected that voices were procured by illicit influence.

Some ſuſpicions, however, were raiſed by the king's declaration, which he endeavoured to obviate by ordering his miniſters to declare at London and at Vienna, that he was reſolved not to violate the treaty of Breſlaw. This declaration was ſufficiently ambiguous, and could not ſatisfy thoſe whom it might ſilence. But this was not a time for nice diſquiſitions: to diſtruſt the king of Pruſſia might have provoked him, and it was moſt convenient to conſider him as a friend, till he appeared openly as an enemy.

About the middle of the year 1744, he raiſed new alarms by collecting his troops and putting them in motion. The earl of Hindford about this time demanded the troops ſtipulated for the protection of Hanover, not perhaps becauſe they were thought neceſſary,

ceſſary, but that the king's deſigns might be gueſſed from his anſwer, which was, that troops were not granted for the defence of any country till that country was in danger, and that he could not believe the elector of Hanover to be in much dread of an invaſion, ſince he had withdrawn the native troops, and put them into the pay of England.

He had, undoubtedly, now formed deſigns which made it neceſſary that his troops ſhould be kept together, and the time ſoon came when the ſcene was to be opened. Prince Charles of Lorrain, having chaſed the French out of Bavaria, lay for ſome months encamped on the Rhine, endeavouring to gain a paſſage into Alſace. His attempts had long been evaded by the ſkill and vigilance of the French general, till at laſt, June 21, 1744, he executed his deſign, and lodged his army in the French dominions, to the ſurpriſe and joy of a great part of Europe. It was now expected that the territories of France would in their turn feel the miſeries of war; and the nation, which ſo long kept the world in alarm, be taught at laſt the value of peace.

The king of Pruſſia now ſaw the Auſtrian troops at a great diſtance from him, engaged in a foreign country againſt the moſt powerful of all their enemies. Now, therefore, was the time to diſcover that he had lately made a treaty at Francfort with the emperor, by which he had engaged, "that as the
"court of Vienna and its allies appeared backward
"to re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of the empire, and
"more cogent methods appeared neceſſary; he,
"being animated with a deſire of co-operating to-
"wards the pacification of Germany, ſhould make

"an expedition for the conqueſt of Bohemia, and to "put it into the poſſeſſion of the emperor, his heirs "and ſucceſſors, for ever; in gratitude for which, "the emperor ſhould reſign to him and his ſucceſſors "a certain number of lordſhips, which are now part "of the kingdom of Bohemia. His Imperial ma- "jeſty likewiſe guaranties to the king of Pruſſia the "perpetual poſſeſſion of Upper Sileſia; and the king "guaranties to the emperor the perpetual poſſeſſion "of Upper Auſtria, as he ſhall have occupied it by "conqueſt."

It is eaſy to diſcover that the king began the war upon other motives than zeal for peace; and that, whatever reſpect he was willing to ſhew to the Emperor, he did not purpoſe to aſſiſt him without reward. In proſecution of this treaty he put his troops in motion; and, according to his promiſe, while the Auſtrians were invading France, he invaded Bohemia.

Princes have this remaining of humanity, that they think themſelves obliged not to make war without a reaſon. Their reaſons are indeed not always very ſatisfactory. Lewis the fourteenth ſeemed to think his own glory a ſufficient motive for the invaſion of Holland. The Czar attacked Charles of Sweden, becauſe he had not been treated with ſufficient reſpect when he made a journey in diſguiſe. The king of Pruſſia, having an opportunity of attacking his neighbour, was not long without his reaſons. On July 30, he publiſhed his declaration, in which he declares;

That he can no longer ſtand an idle ſpectator of the troubles in Germany, but finds himſelf obliged to

make uſe of force to reſtore the power of the laws, and the authority of the emperor.

That the Queen of Hungary has treated the emperor's hereditary dominions with inexpreſſible cruelty.

That Germany has been overrun with foreign troops, which have marched through neutral countries without the cuſtomary requiſitions.

That the emperor's troops have been attacked under neutral fortreſſes, and obliged to abandon the empire, of which their maſter is the head.

That the imperial dignity has been treated with indecency by the Hungarian troops.

The queen declaring the election of the emperor void, and the diet of Frankfort illegal, had not only violated the imperial dignity, but injured all the princes who have the right of election.

That he has no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary; and that he deſires nothing for himſelf, and only enters as an auxiliary into a war for the liberties of Germany.

That the emperor had offered to quit his pretenſion to the dominions of Auſtria, on condition that his hereditary countries be reſtored to him.

That this propoſal had been made to the king of England at Hanau, and rejected in ſuch a manner as ſhewed that the king of England had no intention to reſtore peace, but rather to make his advantage of the troubles.

That the mediation of the Dutch had been deſired; but that they declined to interpoſe, knowing the inflexibility of the Engliſh and Auſtrian courts.

That the ſame terms were again offered at Vienna, and again rejected: that therefore the queen muſt impute it to her own council that her enemies find new allies.

That he is not fighting for any intereſt of his own, that he demands nothing for himſelf; but is determined to exert all his powers in defence of the emperor, in vindication of the right of election, and in ſupport of the liberties of Germany, which the queen of Hungary would enſlave.

When this declaration was ſent to the Pruſſian miniſter in England, it was accompanied with a remonſtrance to the king, in which many of the foregoing poſitions were repeated; the emperor's candour and diſintereſtedneſs were magnified; the dangerous deſigns of the Auſtrians were diſplayed; it was imputed to them as the moſt flagrant violation of the Germanick conſtitution, that they had driven the emperor's troops out of the empire; the publick ſpirit and generoſity of his Pruſſian majeſty were again heartily declared; and it was ſaid, that this quarrel having no connection with Engliſh intereſts, the Engliſh ought not to interpoſe.

Auſtria and all her allies were put into amazement by this declaration, which at once diſmounted them from the ſummit of ſucceſs, and obliged them to fight through the war a ſecond time. What ſuccours, or what promiſes, Pruſſia received from France was never publickly known; but it is not to be doubted that a prince ſo watchful of opportunity ſold aſſiſtance, when it was ſo much wanted, at the higheſt rate; nor can it be ſuppoſed

that

that he expoſed himſelf to ſo much hazard only for the freedom of Germany, and a few petty diſtricts in Bohemia.

The French, who, from ravaging the empire at diſcretion, and waſting whatever they found either among enemies or friends, were now driven into their own dominions, and in their own dominions were inſulted and purſued, were on a ſudden by this new auxiliary reſtored to their former ſuperiority, at leaſt were diſburthened of their invaders, and delivered from their terrors. And all the enemies of the houſe of Bourbon ſaw with indignation and amazement the recovery of that power which they had with ſo much coſt and bloodſhed brought low, and which their animoſity and elation had diſpoſed them to imagine yet lower than it was.

The queen of Hungary ſtill retained her firmneſs. The Pruſſian declaration was not long without an anſwer, which was tranſmitted to the European princes with ſome obſervations on the Pruſſian miniſter's remonſtrance to the court of Vienna, which he was ordered by his maſter to read to the Auſtrian council, but not to deliver. The ſame caution was practiſed before when the Pruſſians, after the emperor's death, invaded Sileſia. This artifice of political debate may, perhaps, be numbered by the admirers of greatneſs among the refinements of conduct; but, as it is a method of proceeding not very difficult to be contrived or practiſed, as it can be of very rare uſe to honeſty or wiſdom, and as it has been long known to that claſs of men whoſe ſafety depends upon ſecreſy, though hitherto applied chiefly in petty cheats and ſlight tranſactions; I do not ſee that it can

much advance the reputation of regal underſtanding, or indeed that it can add more to the ſafety, than it takes away from the honour of him that ſhall adopt it.

The queen in her anſwer, after charging the king of Pruſſia with breach of the treaty of Breſlaw, and obſerving how much her enemies will exult to ſee the peace now the third time broken by him, declares,

That ſhe had no intention to injure the rights of the electors, and that ſhe calls in queſtion not the event but the manner of the election.

That ſhe had ſpared the emperor's troops with great tenderneſs, and that they were driven out of the empire only becauſe they were in the ſervice of France.

That ſhe is ſo far from diſturbing the peace of the empire, that the only commotions now raiſed in it are the effect of the armaments of the king of Pruſſia.

Nothing is more tedious than publick records, when they relate to affairs which by diſtance of time or place loſe their power to intereſt the reader. Every thing grows little as it grows remote; and of things thus diminiſhed, it is ſufficient to ſurvey the aggregate without a minute examination of the parts.

It is eaſy to perceive, that, if the king of Pruſſia's reaſons be ſufficient, ambition or animoſity can never want a plea for violence and invaſion. What he charges upon the queen of Hungary, the waſte of countries, the expulſion of the Bavarians, and the employment of foreign troops, is the unavoidable conſequence of a war inflamed on either ſide to the

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utmoſt violence. All theſe grievances ſubſiſted when he made the peace, and therefore they could very little juſtify its breach.

It is true, that every prince of the empire is obliged to ſupport the imperial dignity, and aſſiſt the emperor when his rights are violated. And every ſubſequent contract muſt be underſtood in a ſenſe conſiſtent with former obligations. Nor had the king power to make a peace on terms contrary to that conſtitution by which he held a place among the Germanick electors. But he could have eaſily diſcovered that not the emperor but the duke of Bavaria was the queen's enemy, not the adminiſtrator of the imperial power, but the claimant of the Auſtrian dominions. Nor did his allegiance to the emperor, ſuppoſing the emperor injured, oblige him to more than a ſuccour of ten thouſand men. But ten thouſand men could not conquer Bohemia, and without the conqueſt of Bohemia he could receive no reward for the zeal and fidelity which he ſo loudly profeſſed.

The ſucceſs of this enterprize he had taken all poſſible precaution to ſecure. He was to invade a country guarded only by the faith of treaties, and therefore left unarmed, and unprovided of all defence. He had engaged the French to attack prince Charles, before he ſhould repaſs the Rhine, by which the Auſtrians would at leaſt have been hindered from a ſpeedy march into Bohemia: they were likewiſe to yield him ſuch other aſſiſtance as he might want.

Relying therefore upon the promiſes of the French, he reſolved to attempt the ruin of the houſe of Auſtria, and in Auguſt 1744 broke into Bohemia at the head of an hundred and four thouſand men.

When he entered the country, he publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing, that his army ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and that thoſe who made no reſiſtance ſhould be ſuffered to remain at quiet in their habitations. He required that all arms, in the cuſtody of whomſoever they might be placed, ſhould be given up, and put into the hands of publick officers. He ſtill declared himſelf to act only as an auxiliary to the emperor, and with no other deſign than to eſtabliſh peace and tranquillity throughout Germany, his dear country.

In this proclamation there is one paragraph of which I do not remember any precedent. He threatens, that, if any peaſant ſhould be found with arms, he ſhall be hanged without further enquiry; and that, if any lord ſhall connive at his vaſſals keeping arms in their cuſtody, his village ſhall be reduced to aſhes.

It is hard to find upon what pretence the king of Pruſſia could treat the Bohemians as criminals, for preparing to defend their native country, or maintain their allegiance to their lawful ſovereign againſt an invader, whether he appears principal or auxiliary, whether he profeſſes to intend tranquillity or confuſion.

His progreſs was ſuch as gave great hopes to the enemies of Auſtria: like Cæſar, he conquered as he advanced, and met with no oppoſition till he reached the walls of Prague. The indignation and reſentment of the queen of Hungary may be eaſily conceived; the alliance of Franckfort was now laid open to all Europe; and the partition of the Auſtrian dominions was again publickly projected. They were to be ſhared among the emperor, the king of Pruſ-

ſia,

ſia, the elector palatine, and the landgrave of Heſſe. All the powers of Europe who had dreamed of controuling France, were awakened to their former terrors; all that had been done was now to be done again; and every court, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Frozen Sea, was filled with exultation or terror, with ſchemes of conqueſt or precautions for defence.

The king, delighted with his progreſs, and, expecting like other mortals, elated with ſucceſs, that his proſperity could not be interrupted, continued his march, and began in the latter end of September the ſiege of Prague. He had gained ſeveral of the outer poſts, when he was informed that the convoy which attended his artillery was attacked by an unexpected party of the Auſtrians. The king went immediately to their aſſiſtance with the third part of his army, and found his troops put to flight, and the Auſtrians haſting away with his cannons: ſuch a loſs would have diſabled him at once. He fell upon the Auſtrians, whoſe number would not enable them to withſtand him, recovered his artillery, and having alſo defeated Bathiani, raiſed his batteries; and there being no artillery to be placed againſt him, he deſtroyed a great part of the city. He then ordered four attacks to be made at once, and reduced the beſieged to ſuch extremities, that in fourteen days the governor was obliged to yield the place.

At the attack commanded by Schwerin, a grenadier is reported to have mounted the baſtion alone, and to have defended himſelf for ſome time with his ſword, till his followers mounted after him; for this

act of bravery, the king made him a lieutenant, and gave him a patent of nobility.

Nothing now remained but that the Austrians should lay aside all thought of invading France, and apply their whole power to their own defence. Prince Charles, at the first news of the Prussian invasion, prepared to repass the Rhine. This the French, according to their contract with the king of Prussia, should have attempted to hinder; but they knew by experience the Austrians would not be beaten without resistance, and that resistance always incommodes an assailant. As the king of Prussia rejoiced in the distance of the Austrians, whom he considered as entangled in the French territories; the French rejoiced in the necessity of their return, and pleased themselves with the prospect of easy conquests, while powers whom they considered with equal malevolence should be employed in massacring each other.

Prince Charles took the opportunity of bright moonshine to repass the Rhine; and Noailles, who had early intelligence of his motions, gave him very little disturbance, but contented himself with attacking the rear-guard, and when they retired to the main body ceased his pursuit.

The king, upon the reduction of Prague, struck a medal, which had on one side a plan of the town, with this inscription:

"Prague taken by the King of Prussia,
September 16, 1744;
For the third time in three years."

On the other side were two verses, in which he prayed, "That his Conquests might produce Peace."

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He then marched forward with the rapidity which conſtitutes his military character, took poſſeſſion of almoſt all Bohemia, and began to talk of entering Auſtria and beſieging Vienna.

The queen was not yet wholly without reſource. The elector of Saxony, whether invited or not, was not compriſed in the union of Frankfort; and as every ſovereign is growing leſs as his next neighbour is growing greater, he could not heartily wiſh ſucceſs to a confederacy which was to aggrandize the other powers of Germany. The Pruſſians gave him likewiſe a particular and immediate provocation to oppoſe them; for, when they departed to the conqueſt of Bohemia, with all the elation of imaginary ſucceſs, they paſſed through his dominions with unlicenſed and contemptuous diſdain of his authority. As the approach of Prince Charles gave a new proſpect of events, he was eaſily perſuaded to enter into an alliance with the queen, whom he furniſhed with a very large body of troops.

The king of Pruſſia having left a garriſon in Prague, which he commanded to put the burghers to death if they left their houſes in the night, went forward to take the other towns and fortreſſes, expecting, perhaps, that prince Charles would be interrupted in his march, but the French, though they appeared to follow him, either could not or would not overtake him.

In a ſhort time, by marches preſſed on with the utmoſt eagerneſs, Charles reached Bohemia, leaving the Bavarians to regain the poſſeſſion of the waſted plains of their country, which their enemies, who ſtill kept the ſtrong places, might again ſeize at will.

At

At the approach of the Auſtrian army the courage of the king of Pruſſia ſeemed to have failed him. He retired from poſt to poſt, and evacuated town after town, and fortreſs after fortreſs, without reſiſtance, or appearance of reſiſtance, as if he was reſigning them to the rightful owners.

It might have been expected that he ſhould have made ſome effort to reſcue Prague; but, after a faint attempt to diſpute the paſſage of the Elbe, he ordered his garriſon of eleven thouſand men to quit the place. They left behind them their magazines, and heavy artillery, among which were ſeven pieces of remarkable excellence, called "The Seven Electors." But they took with them their field cannon and a great number of carriages laden with ſtores and plunder, which they were forced to leave in their way to the Saxons and Auſtrians that haraſſed their march. They at laſt entered Sileſia with the loſs of about a third part.

The king of Pruſſia ſuffered much in his retreat, for beſides the military ſtores, which he left every where behind him, even to the cloaths of his troops, there was a want of proviſions in his army, and conſequently frequent deſertions and many diſeaſes; and a ſoldier ſick or killed was equally loſt to a flying army.

At laſt he re-entered his own territories, and having ſtationed his troops in places of ſecurity, returned for a time to Berlin, where he forbad all to ſpeak either ill or well of the campaign.

To what end ſuch a prohibition could conduce, it is difficult to diſcover: there is no country in which men can be forbidden to know what they know, and

what

what is universally known may as well be spoken. It is true, that in popular governments seditious discourses may inflame the vulgar, but in such governments they cannot be restrained, and in absolute monarchies they are of little effect.

When the Prussians invaded Bohemia, and this whole nation was fired with resentment, the king of England gave orders in his palace that none should mention his nephew with disrespect; by this command he maintained the decency necessary between princes, without enforcing, and probably without expecting obedience but in his own presence.

The king of Prussia's edict regarded only himself, and therefore it is difficult to tell what was his motive, unless he intended to spare himself this mortification of absurd and illiberal flattery, which, to a mind stung with disgrace, must have been in the highest degree painful and disgusting.

Moderation in prosperity is a virtue very difficult to all mortals; forbearance of revenge, when revenge is within reach, is scarcely ever to be found among princes. Now was the time when the queen of Hungary might perhaps have made peace on her own terms; but keenness of resentment, and arrogance of success, with-held her from the due use of the present opportunity. It is said, that the king of Prussia in his retreat sent letters to prince Charles, which were supposed to contain ample concessions, but were sent back unopened. The king of England offered likewise to mediate between them; but his propositions were rejected at Vienna, where a resolution was taken not only to revenge the interruption of their success on the Rhine by the recovery of Silesia,

Silesia, but to reward the Saxons for their seasonable help, by giving them part of the Prussian dominions.

In the beginning of the year 1745 died the emperor Charles of Bavaria; the treaty of Frankfort was consequently at an end; and the king of Prussia, being no longer able to maintain the character of auxiliary to the emperor, and having avowed no other reason for the war, might have honourably withdrawn his forces, and on his own principles have complied with terms of peace; but no terms were offered him; the queen pursued him with the utmost ardour of hostility, and the French left him to his own conduct, and his own destiny.

His Bohemian conquests were already lost; and he was now chased back into Silesia, where, at the beginning of the year, the war continued in an equilibration by alternate losses and advantages. In April, the elector of Bavaria seeing his dominions over-run by the Austrians, and receiving very little succour from the French, made a peace with the queen of Hungary upon easy conditions, and the Austrians had more troops to employ against Prussia.

But the revolutions of war will not suffer human presumption to remain long unchecked. The peace with Bavaria was scarcely concluded when the battle of Fontenoy was lost, and all the allies of Austria called upon her to exert her utmost power for the preservation of the Low Countries; and, a few days after the loss at Fontenoy, the first battle between the Prussians and the combined army of Austrians and Saxons was fought at Niedburg in Silesia.

The particulars of this battle were variously reported by the different parties, and published in the journals

journals of that time; to tranfcribe them would be tedious and ufelefs, becaufe accounts of battles are not eafily underftood, and becaufe there are no means of determining to which of the relations credit fhould be given. It is fufficient that they all end in claiming or allowing a complete victory to the king of Pruffia, who gained all the Auftrian artillery, killed four thoufand, took feven thoufand prifoners, with the lofs, according to the Pruffian narrative, of only fixteen hundred men.

He now advanced again into Bohemia, where, however, he made no great progrefs. The queen of Hungary, though defeated, was not fubdued. She poured in her troops from all parts to the reinforcement of prince Charles, and determined to continue the ftruggle with all her power. The king faw that Bohemia was an unpleafing and inconvenient theatre of war, in which he fhould be ruined by a mifcarriage, and fhould get little by a victory. Saxony was left defencelefs, and if it was conquered might be plundered.

He therefore publifhed a declaration againft the elector of Saxony, and, without waiting for reply, invaded his dominions. This invafion produced another battle at Standentz, which ended, as the former, to the advantage of the Pruffians. The Auftrians had fome advantage in the beginning; and their irregular troops, who are always daring, and are always ravenous, broke into the Pruffian camp, and carried away the military cheft. But this was eafily repaired by the fpoils of Saxony.

The queen of Hungary was ftill inflexible, and hoped that fortune would at laft change. She recruited

cruited once more her army, and prepared to invade the territories of Brandenburg; but the king of Pruſſia's activity prevented all her deſigns. One part of his forces ſeized Leipſic, and the other once more defeated the Saxons; the king of Poland fled from his dominions, prince Charles retired into Bohemia. The king of Pruſſia entered Dreſden as a conqueror, exacted very ſevere contributions from the whole country, and the Auſtrians and Saxons were at laſt compelled to receive from him ſuch a peace as he would grant. He impoſed no ſevere conditions except the payment of the contributions, made no new claim of dominions, and, with the elector Palatine, acknowledged the duke of Tuſcany for emperor.

The lives of princes, like the hiſtories of nations, have their periods. We ſhall here ſuſpend our narrative of the king of Pruſſia, who was now at the height of human greatneſs, giving laws to his enemies, and courted by all the powers of Europe.

B R O W N E*.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE was born at London, in the pariſh of St. Michael in Cheapſide, on the 19th of October 1605 †. His father was a merchant, of an ancient family at Upton in Cheſhire. Of the name or family of his mother, I find no account.

Of his childhood or youth, there is little known, except that he loſt his father very early; that he was, according to the common ‡ fate of orphans, defrauded by one of his guardians; and that he was placed for his education at the ſchool of Wincheſter.

His mother, having taken § three thouſand pounds, as the third part of her huſband's property, left her ſon, by conſequence, ſix thouſand, a large fortune for a man deſtined to learning at that time, when commerce had not yet filled the nation with nominal riches. But it happened to him, as to many others, to be made poorer by opulence; for his mother ſoon

* Firſt printed in 1752.

† Life of ſir Thomas Browne, prefixed to the Antiquities of Norwich.

‡ Whitefoot's character of ſir Thomas Browne, in a marginal note.

§ Life of ſir Thomas Browne.

married

married ſir Thomas Dutton, probably by the inducement of her fortune; and he was left to the rapacity of his guardian, deprived now of both his parents, and therefore helpleſs and unprotected.

He was removed in the beginning of the year 1623 from Wincheſter to Oxford *, and entered a gentleman-commoner of Broadgate-Hall, which was ſoon afterwards endowed, and took the name of Pembroke-college, from the earl of Pembroke, then chancellor of the Univerſity. He was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, January 31, 1626-7; being, as Wood remarks, the firſt man of eminence graduated from the new college, to which the zeal or gratitude of thoſe that love it moſt can wiſh little better than that it may long proceed as it began.

Having afterwards taken his degree of maſter of arts, he turned his ſtudies to phyſick †, and practiſed it for ſome time in Oxfordſhire; but ſoon afterwards, either induced by curioſity, or invited by promiſes, he quitted his ſettlement, and accompanied his ‡ father-in-law, who had ſome employment in Ireland, in a viſitation of the forts and caſtles, which the ſtate of Ireland then made neceſſary.

He that has once prevailed on himſelf to break his connections of acquaintance, and begin a wandering life, very eaſily continues it. Ireland had, at that time, very little to offer to the obſervation of a man of letters: he, therefore, paſſed § into France and Italy; made ſome ſtay at Montpellier and Padua, which were then the celebrated ſchools of phyſick;

* Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis.

† Wood. ‡ Life of ſir Thomas Browne. § Ibid.

and, returning home through Holland, procured himſelf to be created doctor of phyſick at Leyden.

When he began his travels, or when he concluded them, there is no certain account; nor do there remain any obſervations made by him in his paſſage through thoſe countries which he viſited. To conſider, therefore, what pleaſure or inſtruction might have been received from the remarks of a man ſo curious and diligent, would be voluntarily to indulge a painful reflection, and load the imagination with a wiſh, which, while it is formed, is known to be vain. It is, however, to be lamented, that thoſe who are moſt capable of improving mankind, very frequently neglect to communicate their knowledge; either becauſe it is more pleaſing to gather ideas than to impart them, or becauſe, to minds naturally great, few things appear of ſo much importance as to deſerve the notice of the publick.

About the year 1634 *, he is ſuppoſed to have returned to London; and the next year to have written his celebrated treatiſe, called *Religio Medici*, "The "religion of a phyſician †," which he declares himſelf never to have intended for the preſs, having compoſed it only for his own exerciſe and entertainment. It, indeed, contains many paſſages, which, relating merely to his own perſon, can be of no great importance to the publick: but when it was written, it happened to him as to others, he was too much pleaſed with his performance, not to think that it might pleaſe others as much; he, therefore, commu-

* Biographia Britannica.

† Letter to ſir Kenelm Digby, prefixed to the Religio Medici, folio edition.

nicated it to his friends, and receiving, I ſuppoſe, that exuberant applauſe with which every man repays the grant of peruſing a manuſcript, he was not very diligent to obſtruct his own praiſe by recalling his papers, but ſuffered them to wander from hand to hand, till at laſt, without his own conſent, they were in 1642 given to a printer.

This has perhaps, ſometimes befallen others; and this, I am willing to believe, did really happen to Dr. Browne: but there is ſurely ſome reaſon to doubt the truth of the complaint ſo frequently made of ſurreptitious editions. A ſong, or an epigram, may be eaſily printed without the author's knowledge; becauſe it may be learned when it is repeated, or may be written out with very little trouble: but a long treatiſe, however elegant, is not often copied by mere zeal or curioſity, but may be worn out in paſſing from hand to hand, before it is multiplied by a tranſcript. It is eaſy to convey an imperfect book, by a diſtant hand, to the preſs, and plead the circulation of a falſe copy as an excuſe for publiſhing the true, or to correct what is found faulty or offenſive, and charge the errors on the tranſcriber's depravations.

This is a ſtratagem, by which an author, panting for fame, and yet afraid of ſeeming to challenge it, may at once gratify his vanity, and preſerve the appearance of modeſty; may enter the liſts, and ſecure a retreat: and this candour might ſuffer to paſs undetected as an innocent fraud, but that indeed no fraud is innocent; for the confidence which makes the happineſs of ſociety is in ſome degree diminiſhed

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by every man whofe practice is at variance with his words.

The *Religio Medici* was no fooner publifhed than it excited the attention of the publick, by the novelty of paradoxes, the dignity of fentiment, the quick fucceffion of images, the multitude of abftrufe allufions, the fubtlety of difquifition, and the ftrength of language.

What is much read will be much criticifed. The earl of Dorfet recommended this book to the perufal of Sir Kenelm Digby, who returned his judgment upon it, not in a letter, but a book; in which, though mingled with fome pofitions fabulous and uncertain, there are acute remarks, juft cenfures, and profound fpeculations; yet its principal claim to admiration is, that * it was written in twenty-four hours, of which part was fpent in procuring Browne's book, and part in reading it.

Of thefe animadverfions, when they were yet not all printed, either officioufnefs or malice informed Dr. Browne; who wrote to Sir Kenelm with much foftnefs and ceremony, declaring the unworthinefs of his work to engage fuch notice, the intended privacy of the compofition, and the corruptions of the impreffion; and received an anfwer equally genteel and refpectful, containing high commendations of the piece, pompous profeffions of reverence, meek acknowledgments of inability, and anxious apologies for the haftinefs of his remarks.

The reciprocal civility of authors is one of the moft rifible fcenes in the farce of life. Who would not

* Digby's letter to Browne, prefixed to the Religio Medici, fol. edit.

have thought, that theſe two luminaries of their age had ceaſed to endeavour to grow bright by the obſcuration of each other? yet the animadverſions thus weak, thus precipitate, upon a book thus injured in the tranſcription, quickly paſſed the preſs; and *Religio Medici* was more accurately publiſhed, with an admonition prefixed "to thoſe who have or ſhall peruſe the obſervations upon a former corrupt copy;" in which there is a ſevere cenſure, not upon Digby, who was to be uſed with ceremony, but upon the obſervator who had uſurped his name: nor was this invective written by Dr. Browne, who was ſuppoſed to be ſatisfied with his opponent's apology; but by ſome officious friend, zealous for his honour, without his conſent.

Browne has, indeed, in his own preface, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf from rigorous examination, by alledging, that "many things are delivered rhetorically, many expreſſions merely tropical, and therefore many things to be taken in a ſoft and flexible ſenſe, and not to be called unto the rigid teſt of reaſon." The firſt glance upon his book will indeed diſcover examples of this liberty of thought and expreſſion: "I could be content (ſays he) to be nothing almoſt to eternity, if I might enjoy my Saviour at the laſt." He has little acquaintance with the acuteneſs of Browne, who ſuſpects him of a ſerious opinion, that any thing can be "almoſt eternal," or that any time beginning and ending, is not infinitely leſs than infinite duration.

In this book he ſpeaks much, and, in the opinion of Digby, too much of himſelf; but with ſuch generality and conciſeneſs as affords very little light to his biogra-

biographer: he declares, that, befides the dialects of different provinces, he underftood fix languages; that he was no ftranger to Aftronomy; and that he had feen feveral countries; but what moft awakens curiofity is, his folemn affertion, that "his life has been "a miracle of thirty years; which to relate were not "hiftory, but a piece of poetry, and would found "like a fable."

There is, undoubtedly, a fenfe in which all life is miraculous; as it is an union of powers of which we can image no connexion, a fucceffion of motions of which the firft caufe muft be fupernatural: but life, thus explained, whatever it may have of miracle, will have nothing of fable; and, therefore, the author undoubtedly had regard to fomething, by which he imagined himfelf diftinguifhed from the reft of mankind.

Of thefe wonders, however, the view that can be now taken of his life offers no appearance. The courfe of his education was like that of others, fuch as put him little in the way of extraordinary cafualties. A fcholaftick and academical life is very uniform; and has, indeed, more fafety than pleafure. A traveller has greater opportunities of adventure; but Browne traverfed no unknown feas, or Arabian defarts: and, furely, a man may vifit France and Italy, refide at Montpellier and Padua, and at laft take his degree at Leyden, without any thing miraculous. What it was that would, if it was related, found fo poetical and fabulous, we are left to guefs; I believe without hope of gueffing rightly. The wonders probably were tranfacted in his own mind; felf-love, co-operating with an imagination vigorous

and fertile as that of Browne, will find or make objects of astonishment in every man's life: and, perhaps, there is no human being, however hid in the crowd from the observation of his fellow-mortals, who, if he has leisure and disposition to recollect his own thoughts and actions, will not conclude his life in some sort a miracle, and imagine himself distinguished from all the rest of his species by many discriminations of nature or of fortune.

The success of this performance was such, as might naturally encourage the author to new undertakings. A gentleman of Cambridge *, whose name was Merryweather, turned it not inelegantly into Latin; and from his version it was again translated into Italian, German, Dutch, and French; and at Strasburg the Latin translation was published with large notes, by Lenuus Nicholaus Molifarius. Of the English annotations, which in all the editions from 1644 accompany the book, the author is unknown.

Of Merryweather, to whose zeal Browne was so much indebted for the sudden extension of his renown, I know nothing, but that he published a small treatise for the instruction of young persons in the attainment of a Latin style. He printed his translation in Holland with some difficulty †. The first printer to whom he offered it carried it to Salmasius, "who laid it by (says he) in state for three months," and then discouraged its publication: it was afterwards rejected by two other printers, and at last was received by Hackius.

* Life of sir Thomas Browne.

† Merryweather's letter, inserted in the Life of sir Thomas Browne.

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The peculiarities of this book raised the author, as is usual, many admirers and many enemies; but we know not of more than one professed answer, written under * the title of Medicus Medicatus, by Alexander Ross, which was universally neglected by the world.

At the time when this book was published, Dr. Browne resided at Norwich, where he had settled in 1636, by † the persuasion of Dr. Lushington his tutor, who was then rector of Barnham Westgate in the neighbourhood. It is recorded by Wood, that his practice was very extensive, and that many patients resorted to him. In 1637 ‡ he was incorporated doctor of physick in Oxford.

He married in 1641 § Mrs. Mileham, of a good family in Norfolk; "a lady (says Whitefoot) of "such symmetrical proportion to her worthy husband, both in the graces of her body and mind, "that they seemed to come together by a kind of "natural magnetism."

This marriage could not but draw the raillery of contemporary wits || upon a man, who had just been wishing in his new book, "that we might procreate "like trees, without conjunction;" and had ¶ lately declared, that "the whole world was made for man, "but only the twelfth part of man for woman;" and, that "man is the whole world, but woman only the rib or crooked part of man."

Whether the lady had been yet informed of these contemptuous positions, or whether she was pleased

* Life of sir Thomas Browne.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. ‡ Wood. § Whitefoot.

|| Howel's Letters. ¶ Religio Medici.

with the conqueſt of ſo formidable a rebel, and conſidered it as a double triumph, to attract ſo much merit, and overcome ſo powerful prejudices; or whether, like moſt others, ſhe married upon mingled motives, between convenience and inclination; ſhe had, however, no reaſon to repent, for ſhe lived happily with him one-and-forty years, and bore him ten children, of whom one ſon and three daughters outlived their parents: ſhe ſurvived him two years, and paſſed her widowhood in plenty, if not in opulence.

Browne having now entered the world as an author, and experienced the delights of praiſe and moleſtations of cenſure, probably found his dread of the publick eye diminiſhed; and, therefore, was not long before he truſted his name to the criticks a ſecond time: for in 1646 * he printed *Enquiries into vulgar and common Errours*; a work, which as it aroſe not from fancy and invention, but from obſervation and books, and contained not a ſingle diſcourſe of one continued tenor, of which the latter part aroſe from the former, but an enumeration of many unconnected particulars, muſt have been the collection of years, and the effect of a deſign early formed and long purſued, to which his remarks had been continually referred, and which aroſe gradually to its preſent bulk by the daily aggregation, of new particles of knowledge. It is indeed to be wiſhed, that he had longer delayed the publication, and added what the remaining part of his life might have furniſhed: the thirty-ſix years which he ſpent afterwards in ſtudy and experience, would doubtleſs have made large additions to an *Enquiry into vulgar Errours*. He publiſhed in

* Life of ſir Thomas Browne.

1673 the ſixth edition, with ſome improvements; but I think rather with explication of what he had already written, than any new heads of diſquiſition. But with the work, ſuch as the author, whether hindered from continuing it by eagerneſs of praiſe, or wearineſs of labour, thought fit to give, we muſt be content; and remember, that in all ſublunary things there is ſomething to be wiſhed which we muſt wiſh in vain.

This book, like his former, was received with great applauſe, was anſwered by Alexander Roſs, and tranſlated into Dutch and German, and not many years ago into French. It might now be proper, had not the favour with which it was at firſt received filled the kingdom with copies, to reprint it with notes, partly ſupplemental, and partly emendatory, to ſubjoin thoſe diſcoveries which the induſtry of the laſt age has made, and correct thoſe miſtakes which the author has committed not by idleneſs or negligence, but for want of Boyle's and Newton's philoſophy.

He appears indeed to have been willing to pay labour for truth. Having heard a flying rumour of ſympathetick needles, by which, ſuſpended over a circular alphabet, diſtant friends or lovers might correſpond, he procured two ſuch alphabets to be made, touched his needles with the ſame magnet, and placed them upon proper ſpindles: the reſult was, that when he moved one of his needles, the other, inſtead of taking by ſympathy the ſame direction, "ſtood like the pillars of Hercules." That it continued motionleſs, will be eaſily believed; and moſt men would have been content to believe it, without the

the labour of ſo hopeleſs an experiment. Browne might himſelf have obtained the ſame conviction by a method leſs operoſe, if he had thruſt his needles through corks, and ſet them afloat in two baſons of water.

Notwithſtanding his zeal to detect old errors, he ſeems not very eaſy to admit new poſitions; for he never mentions the motion of the earth but with contempt and ridicule, though the opinion, which admits it, was then growing popular, and was ſurely plauſible, even before it was confirmed by later obſervations.

The reputation of Browne encouraged ſome low writer to publiſh, under his name, a book called, * *Nature's Cabinet unlocked*, tranſlated, according to Wood, from the phyſicks of Magirus; of which Browne took care to clear himſelf, by modeſtly advertiſing, that "if any man † had been benefited by "it, he was not ſo ambitious as to challenge the "honour thereof, as having no hand in that work."

In 1658 the diſcovery of ſome ancient urns in Norfolk gave him occaſion to write *Hydriotaphia, Urn-burial, or a diſcourſe of ſepulchral Urns*, in which he treats with his uſual learning on the funeral rites of the ancient nations; exhibits their various treatment of the dead; and examines the ſubſtances found in his Norfolcian urns. There is, perhaps, none of his works which better exemplifies his reading or memory. It is ſcarcely to be imagined, how many particulars he has amaſſed together, in a trea-

* Wood, and Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

† At the end of Hydriotaphia.

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tise which seems to have been occasionally written; and for which, therefore, no materials could have been previously collected. It is indeed, like other treatises of antiquity, rather for curiosity than use; for it is of small importance to know which nation buried their dead in the ground, which threw them into the sea, or which gave them to birds and beasts; when the practice of cremation began, or when it was disused; whether the bones of different persons were mingled in the same urn; what oblations were thrown into the pyre; or how the ashes of the body were distinguished from those of other substances. Of the uselessness of these enquiries, Browne seems not to have been ignorant; and, therefore, concludes them with an observation which can never be too frequently recollected:

"All or most apprehensions rested in opinions of "some future being, which, ignorantly or coldly be-"lieved, begat those perverted conceptions, ceremo-"nies, sayings, which Christians pity or laugh at. "Happy are they, which live not in that disad-"vantage of time, when men could say little for "futurity, but from reason; whereby the noblest "mind fell often upon doubtful deaths, and melan-"choly dissolutions: with these hopes Socrates warm-"ed his doubtful spirits against the cold potion; and "Cato, before he durst give the fatal stroke, spent "part of the night in reading the immortality of "Plato, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto "the animosity of that attempt.

"It is the heaviest stone that melancholy can "throw at a man, to tell him he is at the end of his "nature; or that there is no further state to come, "unto which this seems progressional, and otherwise

"made

" made in vain: without this accomplishment, the " natural expectation and desire of such a state were " but a fallacy in nature: unsatisfied considerators " would quarrel at the justness of the constitution, " and rest content that Adam had fallen lower, " whereby, by knowing no other original, and deeper " ignorance of themselves, they might have enjoyed " the happiness of inferior creatures, who in tran- " quillity possess their constitutions, as having not the " apprehension to deplore their own natures; and be- " ing framed below the circumference of these hopes " of cognition of better things, the wisdom of God " hath necessitated their contentment. But the supe- " rior ingredient and obscured part of ourselves, " whereto all present felicities afford no resting con- " tentment, will be able at last to tell us we are more " than our present selves; and evacuate such hopes " in the fruition of their own accomplishments."

To his treatise on *Urn-burial* was added *The garden of Cyrus, or the quicunxial lozenge, or network plantation of the ancients, artificially, naturally, mystically, considered.* This discourse he begins with the *Sacred Garden*, in which the first man was placed; and deduces the practice of horticulture from the earliest accounts of antiquity to the time of the *Persian Cyrus*, the first man whom we actually know to have planted a quincunx; which, however, our author is inclined to believe of longer date, and not only discovers it in the description of the hanging gardens of Babylon, but seems willing to believe, and to persuade his reader, that it was practised by the feeders on vegetables before the flood.

Some of the most pleasing performances have been produced by learning and genius exercised upon sub-

jects of little importance. It seems to have been in all ages the pride of wit, to shew how it could exalt the low, and amplify the little. To speak not inadequately of things really and naturally great, is a task not only difficult but disagreeable; because the writer is degraded in his own eyes by standing in comparison with his subject, to which he can hope to add nothing from his imagination: but it is a perpetual triumph of fancy to expand a scanty theme, to raise glittering ideas from obscure properties, and to produce to the world an object of wonder to which nature had contributed little. To this ambition, perhaps, we owe the frogs of Homer, the gnat and the bees of Virgil, the butterfly of Spenser, the shadow of Wowerus, and the quincunx of Browne.

In the prosecution of this sport of fancy, he considers every production of art and nature in which he could find any decussation or approaches to the form of a quincunx; and as a man once resolved upon ideal discoveries seldom searches long in vain, he finds his favourite figure in almost every thing, whether natural or invented, ancient or modern, rude or artificial, sacred and civil, so that a reader, not watchful against the power of his infusions, would imagine that decussation was the great business of the world, and that nature and art had no other purpose than to exemplify and imitate a quincunx.

To shew the excellence of this figure he enumerates all its properties; and finds in it almost every thing of use or pleasure: and to shew how readily he supplies what he cannot find, one instance may be sufficient: "though therein (says he) we meet not with "right angles, yet every rhombus containing four

"angles

"angles equal unto two right, it virtually contains "two right in every one."

The fanciful ſports of great minds are never without ſome advantage to knowledge. Browne has interſperſed many curious obſervations on the form of plants, and the laws of vegetation; and appears to have been a very accurate obſerver of the modes of germination, and to have watched with great nicety the evolution of the parts of plants from their ſeminal principles.

He is then naturally led to treat of the number Five; and finds, that by this number many things are circumſcribed; that there are five kinds of vegetable productions, five ſections of a cone, five orders of architecture, and five acts of a play. And obſerving that five was the ancient conjugal, or wedding number, he proceeds to a ſpeculation which I ſhall give in his own words; "the ancient numeriſts made "out the conjugal number by two and three, the "firſt parity and imparity, the active and paſſive "digits, the material and formal principles in gene-"rative ſocieties."

Theſe are all the tracts which he publiſhed. But many papers were found in his cloſet: "ſome of "them, (ſays Whitefoot,) deſigned for the preſs, "were often tranſcribed and corrected by his own "hand, after the faſhion of great and curious "writers."

Of theſe, two collections have been publiſhed; one by Dr. Tenniſon, the other in 1722 by a nameleſs editor. Whether the one or the other ſelected thoſe pieces which the author would have preferred, cannot be known: but they have both the merit of giving

giving to mankind what was too valuable to be ſuppreſſed; and what might, without their interpoſition, have perhaps periſhed among other innumerable labours of learned men, or have been burnt in a ſcarcity of fuel like the papers of Peirecius.

The firſt of theſe poſthumous treatiſes contains *Obſervations upon ſeveral plants mentioned in Scripture:* theſe remarks, though they do not immediately either rectify the faith, or refine the morals of the reader, yet are by no means to be cenſured as ſuperfluous niceties, or uſeleſs ſpeculations; for they often ſhew ſome propriety of deſcription, or elegance of alluſion, utterly undiſcoverable to readers not ſkilled in Oriental botany; and are often of more important uſe, as they remove ſome difficulty from narratives, or ſome obſcurity from precepts.

The next is, *Of garlands, or coronary and garland plants*; a ſubject merely of learned curioſity, without any other end than the pleaſure of reflecting on ancient cuſtoms, or on the induſtry with which ſtudious men have endeavoured to recover them.

The next is a letter, *On the fiſhes eaten by our Saviour with his Diſciples, after his reſurrection from the dead*; which contains no determinate reſolution of the queſtion, what they were, for indeed it cannot be determined. All the information that diligence or learning could ſupply conſiſts in an enumeration of the fiſhes produced in the waters of Judea.

Then follow, *Anſwers to certain queries about fiſhes, birds, and inſects*; and *A letter of hawks and falconry ancient and modern:* in the firſt of which he gives the proper interpretation of ſome ancient names of animals, commonly miſtaken; and in the other has ſome curious obſervations on the art of hawking, which he

conſiders

confiders as a practice unknown to the ancients. I believe all our fports of the field are of Gothick original; the ancients neither hunted by the fcent, nor feemed much to have practifed horfemanfhip as an exercife; and though in their works, there is mention of *aucupium* and *pifcatio*, they feem no more to have been confidered as diverfions, than agriculture or any other manual labour.

In two more letters he fpeaks of the *cymbals of the Hebrews*, but without any fatisfactory determination; and of *ropalic or gradual verfes*, that is, of verfes beginning with a word of one fyllable, and proceeding by words of which each has a fyllable more than the former; as,

"O deus, æternæ ftationis conciliator." AUSONIUS.

and after this manner purfuing the hint, he mentions many other reftrained methods of verfifying, to which induftrious ignorance has fometimes voluntarily fubjected itfelf.

His next attempt is, *On languages, and particularly the Saxon tongue.* He difcourfes with great learning and generally with great juftnefs, of the derivation and changes of languages; but, like other men of multifarious learning, he receives fome notions without examination. Thus he obferves, according to the popular opinion, that the Spaniards have retained fo much Latin, as to be able to compofe fentences that fhall be at once grammatically Latin and Caftilian: this will appear very unlikely to a man that confiders the Spanifh terminations; and Howel, who was eminently fkilful in the three provincial languages, declares, that after many effays he never could effect it.

The

The principal design of this letter is to shew the affinity between the modern English and the ancient Saxon; and he observes, very rightly, that "though "we have borrowed many substantives, adjectives, "and some verbs, from the French; yet the great "body of numerals, auxiliary verbs, articles, pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions, "which are the distinguishing and lasting parts of a "language, remain with us from the Saxon."

To prove this position more evidently, he has drawn up a short discourse of six paragraphs, in Saxon and English; of which every word is the same in both languages, excepting the terminations and orthography. The words are, indeed, Saxon, but the phraseology is English; and, I think, would not have been understood by Bede or Elfric, notwithstanding the confidence of our author. He has, however, sufficiently proved his position, that the English resembles its parental language more than any modern European dialect.

There remain five tracts of this collection yet unmentioned; one, *Of artificial hills, mounts, or barrows, in England*; in reply to an interrogatory letter of E. D. whom the writers of the *Biographia Britannica* suppose to be, if rightly printed, W. D. or sir William Dugdale, one of Browne's correspondents. These are declared by Browne, in concurrence, I think, with all other antiquaries, to be for the most part funeral monuments. He proves, that both the Danes and Saxons buried their men of eminence under piles of earth, "which admitting "(says he) neither ornament, epitaph, nor inscription, may, if earthquakes spare them, outlast

"other monuments: obelifks have their term, and "pyramids will tumble; but thefe mountainous mo-"numents may ftand, and are like to have the fame "period with the earth."

In the next, he anfwers two geographical queftions; one concerning Troas, mentioned in the Acts and Epiftles of St. Paul, which he determines to be the city built near the ancient Ilium; and the other concerning the dead fea, of which he gives the fame account with other writers.

Another letter treats *Of the anfwers of the oracle of Apollo, at Delphos*, to Crœfus king of Lydia. In this tract nothing deferves notice, more than that Browne confiders the oracles as evidently and indubitably fupernatural, and founds all his difquifition upon that poftulate. He wonders why the phyfiologifts of old, having fuch means of inftruction, did not enquire into the fecrets of nature: But judicioufly concludes, that fuch queftions would probably have been vain; "for in matters cognofci-"ble, and formed for our difquifition, our induftry "muft be our oracle, and reafon our Apollo."

The pieces that remain are, *A prophecy concerning the future ftate of feveral nations*; in which Browne plainly difcovers his expectation to be the fame with that entertained lately with more confidence by Dr. Berkeley, "that America will be the feat of the fifth "empire:" and *Mufeum claufum, five Bibliotheca abfcondita*; in which the author amufes himfelf with imagining the exiftence of books and curiofities, either never in being, or irrecoverably loft.

These pieces I have recounted as they are ranged in Tenifon's collection, becaufe the editor has given

no

no account of the time at which any of them were written. Some of them are of little value, more than as they gratify the mind with the picture of a great ſcholar, turning his learning into amuſement; or ſhew upon how great a variety of enquiries the ſame mind has been ſucceſsfully employed.

The other collection of his poſthumous pieces, publiſhed in octavo, London 1722, contains *Repertorium; or ſome account of the tombs and monuments in the cathedral of Norwich*; where, as Teniſon obſerves, there is not matter proportionate to the ſkill of the antiquary.

The other pieces are, "Anſwers to Sir William "Dugdale's enquiries about the fens; a letter con-"cerning Ireland; another relating to urns newly "diſcovered; ſome ſhort ſtrictures on different ſub-"jects; and a letter to a friend on the death of his "intimate friend," publiſhed ſingly by the author's ſon in 1690.

There is inſerted, in the "Biographia Britannica, "a letter containing inſtructions for the ſtudy of "phyſick;" which, with the eſſays here offered to the publick, completes the works of Dr. Browne.

To the life of this learned man, there remains little to be added, but that in 1665 he was choſen honorary fellow of the college of phyſicians, as a man, "Virtute et literis ornatiſſimus;—eminently "embelliſhed with literature and virtue:" and, in 1671, received, at Norwich, the honour of knighthood from Charles II. a prince, who, with many frailties and vices, had yet ſkill to diſcover excellence, and virtue to reward it with ſuch honorary diſtinctions at leaſt as coſt him nothing, yet, con-

ferred by a king ſo judicious and ſo much beloved, had the power of giving merit new luſtre and greater popularity.

Thus he lived in high reputation, till in his ſeventy-ſixth year he was ſeized with a colick, which, after having tortured him about a week, put an end to his life at Norwich, on his birth-day, October 19, 1682 *. Some of his laſt words were expreſſions of ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and fearleſſneſs of death.

He lies buried in the church of St. Peter, Mancroft, in Norwich, with this inſcription on a mural monument, placed on the ſouth pillar of the altar:

M. S.
Hic ſitus eſt THOMAS BROWNE, M. D.
Et miles.
Anno 1605, Londini natus;
Generoſa familia apud Upton
In agro Ceſtrienſi oriundus.
Scholâ primum Wintonienſi, poſtea
In Coll. Pembr.
Apud Oxonienſes bonis literis
Haud leviter imbutus;
In urbe hâc Nordovicenſi medicinam
Arte egregia, & fælici ſucceſſu profeſſus;
Scriptis quibus tituli, RELIGIO MEDICI
ET PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA aliiſque
Per orbem notiſſimus.
Vir prudentiſſimus, integerrimus, doctiſſimus;
Obiit Octob. 19, 1682.
Pie poſuit mœſtiſſima conjux
Da. Doroth. Br.

* Browne's remains. Whitefoot.

Near

Near the foot of this pillar
Lies Sir Thomas Browne, kt. and doctor in physick,
Author of Religio Medici, and other learned books,
Who practised physick in this city 46 years,
And died Oct. 1682, in the 77th year of his age.
In memory of whom,
Dame Dorothy Browne, who had bin his affectionate
Wife 47 years, caused this monument to be
Erected.

Besides his lady, who died in 1685, he left a son and three daughters. Of the daughters nothing very remarkable is known; but his son, Edward Browne, requires a particular mention.

He was born about the year 1642; and, after having passed through the classes of the school at Norwich, became bachelor of physick at Cambridge; and, afterwards removing to Merton-College in Oxford, was admitted there to the same degree, and afterwards made a doctor. In 1668 he visited part of Germany; and in the year following made a wider excursion into Austria, Hungary, and Thessaly; where the Turkish sultan then kept his court at Larissa. He afterwards passed through Italy. His skill in natural history made him particularly attentive to mines and metallurgy. Upon his return he published an account of the countries through which he had passed; which I have heard commended by a learned traveller, who has visited many places after him, as written with scrupulous and exact veracity, such as is scarcely to be found in any other book of the same kind. But whatever it may contribute to the instruction of a naturalist, I cannot recommend it

as likely to give much pleasure to common readers; for whether it be that the world is very uniform, and therefore he who is resolved to adhere to truth will have few novelties to relate; or that Dr. Browne was, by the train of his studies, led to enquire most after those things by which the greatest part of mankind is little affected; a great part of his book seems to contain very unimportant accounts of his passage from one place where he saw little, to another where he saw no more.

Upon his return, he practised physick in London; was made physician first to Charles II. and afterwards, in 1682, to St. Bartholomew's hospital. About the same time he joined his name to those of many other eminent men, in "a translation of Plutarch's lives." He was first censor, then elect, and treasurer of the college of physicians; of which in 1705 he was chosen president, and held his office till in 1708 he died in a degree of estimation suitable to a man so variously accomplished, that king Charles had honoured him with this panegyrick, that "he was as learned as any of the college, and as well-bred as any of the court."

Of every great and eminent character, part breaks forth into publick view, and part lies hid in domestic privacy. Those qualities, which have been exerted in any known and lasting performances, may, at any distance of time, be traced and estimated; but silent excellencies are soon forgotten; and those minute peculiarities which discriminate every man from all others, if they are not recorded by those whom personal knowledge enables to observe them, are irrecoverably lost. This mutilation of character must have

have happened, among many others, to ſir Thomas Browne, had it not been delineated by his friend Mr. Whitefoot, "who eſteemed it an eſpecial favour of Providence, to have had a particular acquaintance with him for two thirds of his life." Part of his obſervations I ſhall therefore copy.

"For a character of his perſon, his complexion and hair was anſwerable to his name; his ſtature was moderate, and habit of body neither fat nor lean, but εὐσάρκος.

"In his habit of cloathing, he had an averſion to all finery, and affected plainneſs both in the faſhion and ornaments. He ever wore a cloke, or boots, when few others did. He kept himſelf always very warm, and thought it moſt ſafe ſo to do, though he never loaded himſelf with ſuch a multitude of garments, as Suetonius reports of Auguſtus, enough to cloath a good family.

"The horizon of his underſtanding was much larger than the hemiſphere of the world: all that was viſible in the heavens he comprehended ſo well, that few that are under them knew ſo much: he could tell the number of the viſible ſtars in his horizon, and call them all by their names that had any; and of the earth he had ſuch a minute and exact geographical knowledge, as if he had been by Divine Providence ordained ſurveyor-general of the whole terreſtrial orb, and its products, minerals, plants, and animals. He was ſo curious a botaniſt, that, beſides the ſpecifical diſtinctions, he made nice and elaborate obſervations, equally uſeful as entertaining.

" His memory, though not ſo eminent as that of " Seneca or Scaliger, was capacious and tenacious, " inſomuch as he remembered all that was remark- " able in any book that he had read; and not only " knew all perſons again that he had ever ſeen at " any diſtance of time, but remembered the circum- " ſtances of their bodies, and their particular diſ- " courſes and ſpeeches.

" In the Latin poets he remembered every thing " that was acute and pungent: he had read moſt of " the hiſtorians, ancient and modern, wherein his " obſervations were ſingular, not taken notice of " by common readers; he was excellent company " when he was at leiſure, and expreſſed more light " than heat in the temper of his brain.

" He had no deſpotical power over his affections " and paſſions (that was a privilege of original per- " fection, forfeited by the neglect of the uſe of it), " but as large a political power over them, as any " ſtoick, or man of his time, whereof he gave ſo " great experiment, that he hath very rarely been " known to have been overcome with any of them. " The ſtrongeſt that were found in him, both of the " iraſcible and concupiſcible, were under the con- " troul of his reaſon. Of admiration, which is one of " them, being the only product, either of igno- " rance, or uncommon knowledge, he had more and " leſs than other men, upon the ſame account of his " knowing more than others; ſo that though he met " with many rarities, he admired them not ſo much " as others do.

" He was never ſeen to be tranſported with " mirth, or dejected with ſadneſs; always chearfull

" but

"but rarely merry, at any ſenſible rate; ſeldom "heard to break a jeſt; and, when he did, he would "be apt to bluſh at the levity of it: his gravity was "natural, without affectation.

"His modeſty was viſible in a natural habitual "bluſh, which was increaſed upon the leaſt occaſion, "and oft diſcovered without any obſervable cauſe.

"They that knew no more of him than by the "briſkneſs of his writings, found themſelves deceived "in their expectation, when they came in his com- "pany, noting the gravity and ſobriety of his aſpect "and converſation; ſo free from loquacity or much "talkativeneſs, that he was ſomething difficult to "be engaged in any diſcourſe; though when he was "ſo, it was always ſingular, and never trite or vul- "gar. Parſimonious in nothing but his time, "whereof he made as much improvement, with as "little loſs as any man in it: when he had any to "ſpare from his drudging practice, he was ſcarce "patient of any diverſion from his ſtudy; ſo impa- "tient of ſloth and idleneſs, that he would ſay, he "could not do nothing.

"Sir Thomas underſtood moſt of the European "languages; viz. all that are in Hutter's Bible, "which he made uſe of. The Latin and Greek he "underſtood critically; the Oriental languages, "which never were vernacular in this part of the "world, he thought the uſe of them would not "anſwer the time and pains of learning them; yet "had ſo great a veneration for the matrix of them, "viz. the Hebrew, conſecrated to the oracles of "God, that he was not content to be totally igno- "rant of it; though very little of his ſcience is to be

"found

"found in any books of that primitive language.
"And though much is said to be written in the
"derivative idioms of that tongue, especially the
"Arabick, yet he was satisfied with the translations
"wherein he found nothing admirable.

"In his religion he continued in the same mind
"which he had declared in his first book, written
"when he was but thirty years old, his *Religio Medici*,
"wherein he fully assented to that of the church of
"England, preferring it before any in the world, as
"did the learned Grotius. He attended the publick
"service very constantly, when he was not with-held
"by his practice; never missed the sacrament in his
"parish, if he were in town; read the best English
"sermons he could hear of, with liberal applause;
"and delighted not in controversies. In his last
"sickness, wherein he continued about a week's
"time, enduring great pain of the colick, besides
"a continual fever, with as much patience as hath
"been seen in any man, without any pretence of
"Stoical apathy, animosity, or vanity of not being
"concerned thereat, or suffering no impeachment
"of happiness—*Nihil agis, dolor.*

"His patience was founded upon the Christian
"philosophy, and a sound faith of God's providence,
"and a meek and holy submission thereunto, which
"he expressed in few words. I visited him near his
"end, when he had not strength to hear or speak
"much; the last words which I heard from him
"were, besides some expressions of dearness, that
"he did freely submit to the will of God, being
"without fear: he had often triumphed over the
"king of terrors in others, and given many repulses

"in

" in the defence of patients; but, when his own turn " came, he ſubmitted with a meek, rational, and re- " ligious courage.

" He might have made good the old ſaying of " *Dat Galenus opes*, had he lived in a place that " could have afforded it. But his indulgence and " liberality to his children, eſpecially in their travels, " two of his ſons in divers countries, and two of his " daughters in France, ſpent him more than a little. " He was liberal in his houſe-entertainments and in " his charity; he left a comfortable, but no great " eſtate, both to his lady and children, gained by " his own induſtry.

" Such was his ſagacity and knowledge of all hiſ- " tory, ancient and modern, and his obſervations " thereupon ſo ſingular, that it hath been ſaid, by " them that knew him beſt, that if his profeſſion, " and place of abode, would have ſuited his abi- " lity, he would have made an extraordinary man " for the privy-council, not much inferior to the " famous Padre Paulo, the late oracle of the Vene- " tian ſtate.

" Though he were no prophet, nor ſon of a pro- " phet, yet in that faculty which comes neareſt it he " excelled, i. e. the ſtochaſtick, wherein he was ſel- " dom miſtaken, as to future events, as well pub- " lick as private; but not apt to diſcover any pre- " ſages or ſuperſtition."

It is obſervable, that he who in his earlier years had read all the books againſt religion, was in the latter part of his life averſe from controverſies. To play with important truths, to diſturb the repoſe of eſta- bliſhed tenets, to ſubtilize objections, and elude

proof,

proof, is too often the ſport of youthful vanity, of which maturer experience commonly repents. There is a time when every man is weary of raiſing difficulties only to taſk himſelf with the ſolution, and deſires to enjoy truth without the labour or hazard of conteſt. There is, perhaps, no better method of encountering theſe troubleſome irruptions of ſcepticiſm, with which inquiſitive minds are frequently haraſſed, than that which Browne declares himſelf to have taken: "If there ariſe any doubts in my way, I do forget "them; or at leaſt defer them, till my better ſettled "judgment, and more manly reaſon, be able to re- "ſolve them: for I perceive, every man's reaſon is "his beſt *Oedipus*, and will, upon a reaſonable truce, "find a way to looſe thoſe bonds, wherewith the "ſubtilties of error have enchained our more flexible "and tender judgments."

The foregoing character may be confirmed and enlarged by many paſſages in the *Religio Medici*; in which it appears, from Whitefoot's teſtimony, that the author, though no very ſparing panegyriſt of himſelf, has not exceeded the truth, with reſpect to his attainments or viſible qualities.

There are, indeed, ſome interior and ſecret virtues, which a man may ſometimes have without the knowledge of others; and may ſometimes aſſume to himſelf, without ſufficient reaſons for his opinion. It is charged upon Browne, by Dr. Watts, as an inſtance of arrogant temerity, that, after a long detail of his attainments, he declares himſelf to have eſcaped "the firſt and father-ſin of pride." A peruſal of the *Religio Medici* will not much contribute to produce a belief of the author's exemption from this father-

father-ſin: pride is a vice, which pride itſelf inclines every man to find in others, and to overlook in himſelf.

As eaſily may we be miſtaken in eſtimating our own courage, as our own humility; and therefore, when Browne ſhews himſelf perſuaded, that "he "could loſe an arm without a tear, or with a few "groans be quartered to pieces," I am not ſure that he felt in himſelf any uncommon powers of endurance; or, indeed, any thing more than a ſudden effervefcence of imagination, which, uncertain and involuntary as it is, he miſtook for ſettled reſolution.

"That there were not many extant, that in a "noble way feared the face of death leſs than him-"ſelf;" he might likewiſe believe at a very eaſy expence, while death was yet at a diſtance; but the time will come to every human being, when it muſt be known how well he can bear to die; and it has appeared that our author's fortitude did not deſert him in the great hour of trial.

It was obſerved by ſome of the remarkers on the *Religio Medici*, that "the author was yet alive, and "might grow worſe as well as better;" it is therefore happy, that this ſuſpicion can be obviated by a teſtimony given to the continuance of his virtue, at a time when death had ſet him free from danger of change, and his panegyriſt from temptation to flattery.

But it is not on the praiſes of others, but on his own writings, that he is to depend for the eſteem of poſterity; of which he will not eaſily be deprived while learning ſhall have any reverence among men;

for

for there is no ſcience in which he does not diſcover ſome ſkill; and ſcarce any kind of knowledge, profane or ſacred, abſtruſe or elegant, which he does not appear to have cultivated with ſucceſs.

His exuberance of knowledge, and plenitude of ideas, ſometimes obſtruct the tendency of his reaſoning and the clearneſs of his deciſions: on whatever ſubject he employed his mind, there ſtarted up immediately ſo many images before him, that he loſt one by graſping another. His memory ſupplied him with ſo many illuſtrations, parallel or dependent notions, that he was always ſtarting into collateral conſiderations: but the ſpirit and vigour of his purſuit always gives delight; and the reader follows him, without reluctance, through his mazes, in themſelves flowery and pleaſing, and ending at the point originally in view.

"To have great excellences and great faults, *magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia*, is the poeſy," ſays our author, "of the beſt natures." This poeſy may be properly applied to the ſtyle of Browne: it is vigorous, but rugged; it is learned, but pedantick; it is deep, but obſcure; it ſtrikes, but does not pleaſe; it commands, but does not allure: his tropes are harſh and his combinations uncouth. He fell into an age in which our language began to loſe the ſtability which it had obtained in the time of Elizabeth; and was conſidered by every writer as a ſubject on which he might try his plaſtick ſkill, by moulding it according to his own fancy. Milton, in conſequence of this encroaching licence, began to introduce the Latin idiom: and Browne, though he gave leſs diſturbance to our ſtructures in phraſeology, yet poured

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in a multitude of exotick words; many, indeed, uſeful and ſignificant, which, if rejected, muſt be ſupplied by circumlocution, ſuch as *commenſality* for the ſtate of many living at the ſame table; but many ſuperfluous, as a *paralogical* for an unreaſonable doubt; and ſome ſo obſcure, that they conceal his meaning rather than explain it, as *arthritical analogies* for parts that ſerve ſome animals in the place of joints.

His ſtyle is, indeed, a tiſſue of many languages; a mixture of heterogeneous words, brought together from diſtant regions, with terms originally appropriated to one art, and drawn by violence into the ſervice of another. He muſt however be confeſſed to have augmented our philoſophical diction; and in defence of his uncommon words and expreſſions, we muſt conſider, that he had uncommon ſentiments, and was not content to expreſs in many words that idea for which any language could ſupply a ſingle term.

But his innovations are ſometimes pleaſing, and his temerities happy: he has many *verba ardentia*, forcible expreſſions, which he would never have found, but by venturing to the utmoſt verge of propriety; and flights which would never have been reached, but by one who had very little fear of the ſhame of falling.

There remains yet an objection againſt the writings of Browne, more formidable than the animadverſions of criticiſm. There are paſſages from which ſome have taken occaſion to rank him among deiſts, and others among atheiſts. It would be difficult to gueſs how any ſuch concluſion ſhould be formed, had not experience

experience ſhewn that there are two ſorts of men willing to enlarge the catalogue of infidels.

It has been long obſerved, that an atheiſt has no juſt reaſon for endeavouring converſions; and yet none haraſs thoſe minds which they can influence, with more importunity of ſolicitation to adopt their opinions. In proportion as they doubt the truth of their own doctrines, they are deſirous to gain the atteſtation of another underſtanding: and induſtriouſly labour to win a proſelyte, and eagerly catch at the ſlighteſt pretence to dignify their ſect with a celebrated name *.

The others become friends to infidelity only by unſkilful hoſtility; men of rigid orthodoxy, cautious converſation, and religious aſperity. Among theſe, it is too frequently the practice, to make in their heat conceſſions to atheiſm, or deiſm, which their moſt confident advocates had never dared to claim, or to hope. A ſally of levity, an idle paradox, an indecent jeſt, an unſeaſonable objection, are ſufficient in the opinion of theſe men, to efface a name from the liſts of Chriſtianity, to exclude a ſoul from everlaſting life. Such men are ſo watchful to cenſure, that they have ſeldom much care to look for favourable interpretations of ambiguities, to ſet the general tenor of life againſt ſingle failures, or to know how ſoon any ſlip of inadvertency has been expiated by ſorrow and retraction; but let fly their fulminations, without mercy or prudence, againſt ſlight of-

* Therefore no Hereticks deſire to ſpread
Their wild opinions like theſe Epicures,
For ſo their ſtaggering thoughts are computed,
And other men's aſſent their doubt aſſures. DAVIES.

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fences or casual temerities, against crimes never committed, or immediately repented.

The infidel knows well what he is doing. He is endeavouring to supply, by authority, the deficiency of his arguments; and to make his cause less invidious, by shewing numbers on his side: he will, therefore, not change his conduct, till he reforms his principles. But the zealot should recollect, that he is labouring, by this frequency of excommunication, against his own cause; and voluntarily adding strength to the enemies of truth. It must always be the condition of a great part of mankind to reject and embrace tenets upon the authority of those whom they think wiser than themselves; and, therefore, the addition of every name to infidelity in some degree invalidates that argument upon which the religion of multitudes is necessarily founded.

Men may differ from each other in many religious opinions, and yet all may retain the essentials of Christianity; men may sometimes eagerly dispute, and yet not differ much from one another: the rigorous persecutors of error should, therefore, enlighten their zeal with knowledge, and temper their orthodoxy with charity; that charity, without which orthodoxy is vain; charity that "thinketh no "evil," but "hopeth all things," and "endureth "all things."

Whether Browne has been numbered among the contemners of religion, by the fury of its friends, or the artifice of its enemies, it is no difficult task to replace him among the most zealous professors of Christianity. He may, perhaps, in the ardour of his imagination, have hazarded an expression, which

a mind intent upon faults may interpret into heresy, if considered apart from the rest of his discourse; but a phrase is not to be opposed to volumes: there is scarcely a writer to be found, whose profession was not divinity, that has so frequently testified his belief of the sacred writings, has appealed to them with such unlimited submission, or mentioned them with such unvaried reverence.

It is indeed, somewhat wonderful, that he should be placed without the pale of Christianity, who declares, that "he assumes the honourable style of a "Christian," not because it is "the religion of his "country," but because "having in his riper years "and confirmed judgment seen and examined all, he "finds himself obliged, by the principles of grace, "and the law of his own reason, to embrace no "other name but this:" who, to specify his persuasion yet more, tells us, that "he is of the Reformed "religion; of the same belief our Saviour taught, "the apostles disseminated, the fathers authorized, "and the martyrs confirmed:" who, though "para-"doxical in philosophy, loves in divinity to keep "the beaten road; and pleases himself that he has no "taint of heresy, schism, or error:" to whom, "where the Scripture is silent, the Church is a text; "where that speaks, 'tis but a comment;" and who uses not "the dictates of his own reason, "but where there is a joint silence of both: who "blesses himself, that he lived not in the days of "miracles, when faith had been thrust upon him; "but enjoys that greater blessing, pronounced to all "that believe and saw not." He cannot surely be charged with a defect of faith, who "believes that "our

" our Saviour was dead, and buried, and rofe again, " and defires to fee him in his glory:" and who affirms, that " this is not much to believe;" that " we " have reafon to owe this faith unto hiftory;" and that " they only had the advantage of a bold and " noble faith, who lived before his coming; and " upon obfcure prophecies and myftical types, could " raife a belief." Nor can contempt of the pofitive and ritual parts of religion be imputed to him, who doubts, whether a good man would refufe a poifoned eucharift; and " who would violate his own arm, " rather than a church."

The opinions of every man muft be learned from himfelf: concerning his practice, it is fafeft to truft the evidence of others. Where thefe teftimonies concur, no higher degree of hiftorical certainty can be obtained; and they apparently concur to prove, that Browne was a zealous adherent to the faith of Chrift, that he lived in obedience to his laws, and died in confidence of his mercy.

A S C H A M*.

ROGER ASCHAM was born in the year 1515, at Kirby Wiſke (or Kirby Wicke), a village near Northallerton in Yorkſhire, of a family above the vulgar. His father John Aſcham was houſe-ſteward in the family of Scroop; and in that age, when the different orders of men were at a greater diſtance from each other, and the manners of gentlemen were regularly formed by menial ſervices in great houſes, lived with a very conſpicuous reputation. Margaret Aſcham, his wife, is ſaid to have been allied to many conſiderable families, but her maiden name is not recorded. She had three ſons, of whom Roger was the youngeſt, and ſome daughters; but who can hope, that of any progeny more than one ſhall deſerve to be mentioned? They lived married ſixty-ſeven years, and at laſt died together almoſt on the ſame hour of the ſame day.

Roger having paſſed his firſt years under the care of his parents, was adopted into the family of Antony Wingfield, who maintained him, and committed his education, with that of his own ſons, to the care of one Bond, a domeſtic tutor. He very early diſco-

* Firſt printed before his Works in 4to.

vered

vered an unufual fondnefs for literature by an eager perufal of Englifh books; and having paffed happily through the fcholaftick rudiments, was put, in 1530, by his patron Wingfield, to St. John's college in Cambridge.

Afcham entered Cambridge at a time when the laft great revolution of the intellectual world was filling every academical mind with ardour or anxiety. The deftruction of the Conftantinopolitan empire had driven the Greeks with their language into the interior parts of Europe, the art of printing had made the books eafily attainable, and Greek now began to be taught in England. The doctrines of Luther had already filled all the nations of the Romifh communion with controverfy and diffention. New ftudies of literature, and new tenets of religion, found employment for all who were defirous of truth, or ambitious of fame. Learning was at that time profecuted with that eagernefs and perfeverance which in this age of indifference and diffipation it is not eafy to conceive. To teach or to learn, was at once the bufinefs and the pleafure of the academical life; and an emulation of ftudy was raifed by Cheke and Smith, to which even the prefent age perhaps owes many advantages, without remembering or knowing its benefactors.

Afcham foon refolved to unite himfelf to thofe who were enlarging the bounds of knowledge, and, immediately upon his admiffion into the college, applied himfelf to the ftudy of Greek. Thofe who were zealous for the new learning, were often no great friends to the old religion; and Afcham, as he became a Grecian, became a Proteftant. The Reformation was not yet begun, difaffection to Popery was

confidered as a crime juftly punifhed by exclufion from favour and preferment, and was not yet openly profeffed, though fuperftition was gradually lofing its hold upon the publick. The ftudy of Greek was reputable enough, and Afcham purfued it with diligence and fuccefs equally confpicuous. He thought a language might be moft eafily learned by teaching it; and when he had obtained fome proficiency in Greek, read lectures, while he was yet a boy, to other boys, who were defirous of inftruction. His induftry was much encouraged by Pember, a man of great eminence at that time, though I know not that he has left any monuments behind him, but what the gratitude of his friends and fcholars has beftowed. He was one of the great encouragers of Greek learning, and particularly applauded Afcham's lectures, affuring him in a letter, of which Graunt has preferved an extract, that he would gain more knowledge by explaining one of Æfop's fables to a boy, than by hearing one of Homer's poems explained by another.

Afcham took his bachelor's degree in 1534, February 18, in the eighteenth year of his age; a time of life at which it is more common now to enter the univerfities than to take degrees, but which, according to the modes of education then in ufe, had nothing of remarkable prematurity. On the 23d of March following, he was chofen fellow of the college; which election he confidered as a fecond birth. Dr. Metcalf the mafter of the college, a man, as Afcham tells us, "meanly learned himfelf, but no mean encourager of learning in others," clandeftinely promoted his election, though he openly feemed firft to

oppofe

oppofe it, and afterwards to cenfure it, becaufe Afcham was known to favour the new opinions; and the mafter himfelf was accufed of giving an unjuft preference to the Northern men, one of the factions into which this nation was divided, before we could find any more important reafon of diffention, than that fome were born on the Northern and fome on the Southern fide of Trent. Any caufe is fufficient for a quarrel; and the zealots of the North and South lived long in fuch animofity, that it was thought neceffary at Oxford to keep them quiet by chufing one proctor every year from each.

He feems to have been hitherto fupported by the bounty of Wingfield, which his attainment of a fellowfhip now freed him from the neceffity of receiving. Dependence, though in thofe days it was more common, and lefs irkfome, than in the prefent ftate of things, can never have been free from difcontent; and therefore he that was releafed from it muft always have rejoiced. The danger is, left the joy of efcaping from the patron may not leave fufficient memory of the benefactor. Of this forgetfulnefs Afcham cannot be accufed; for he is recorded to have preferved the moft grateful and affectionate reverence for Wingfield, and to have never grown weary of recounting his benefits.

His reputation ftill increafed, and many reforted to his chamber to hear the Greek writers explained. He was likewife eminent for other accomplifhments. By the advice of Pember, he had learned to play on mufical inftruments, and he was one of the few who excelled in the mechanical art of writing, which then began to be cultivated among us, and in which we

now ſurpaſs all other nations. He not only wrote his pages with neatneſs, but embelliſhed them with elegant draughts and illuminations; an art at that time ſo highly valued, that it contributed much both to his fame and his fortune.

He became maſter of arts in March 1537, in his twenty-firſt year; and then, if not before, commenced tutor, and publickly undertook the education of young men. A tutor of one-and-twenty, however accompliſhed with learning, however exalted by genius, would now gain little reverence or obedience; but in thoſe days of diſcipline and regularity, the authority of the ſtatutes eaſily ſupplied that of the teacher; all power that was lawful was reverenced. Beſides, young tutors had ſtill younger pupils.

Aſcham is ſaid to have courted his ſcholars to ſtudy by every incitement, to have treated them with great kindneſs, and to have taken care at once to inſtill learning and piety, to enlighten their minds, and to form their manners. Many of his ſcholars roſe to great eminence; and among them William Grindal was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, that, by Cheke's recommendation, he was called to court as a proper maſter of languages for the lady Elizabeth.

There was yet no eſtabliſhed lecturer of Greek; the univerſity therefore appointed Aſcham to read in the open ſchools, and paid him out of the publick purſe an honorary ſtipend, ſuch as was then reckoned ſufficiently liberal. A lecture was afterwards founded by king Henry, and he then quitted the ſchools, but continued to explain Greek authors in his own college.

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He was at firſt an opponent of the new pronunciation introduced, or rather of the ancient reſtored, about this time by Cheke and Smith, and made ſome cautious ſtruggles for the common practice, which the credit and dignity of his antagoniſts did not permit him to defend very publickly, or with much vehemence: nor were they long his antagoniſts; for either his affection for their merit, or his conviction of the cogency of their arguments, ſoon changed his opinion and his practice, and he adhered ever after to their method of utterance.

Of this controverſy it is not neceſſary to give a circumſtantial account; ſomething of it may be found in Strype's Life of Smith, and ſomething in Baker's Reflections upon Learning; it is ſufficient to remark here, that Cheke's pronunciation was that which now prevails in the ſchools of England. Diſquiſitions not only verbal, but merely literal, are too minute for popular narration.

He was not leſs eminent as a writer of Latin, than as a teacher of Greek. All the publick letters of the univerſity were of his compoſition; and as little qualifications muſt often bring great abilities into notice, he was recommended to this honourable employment not leſs by the neatneſs of his hand, than the elegance of his ſtyle.

However great was his learning, he was not always immured in his chamber; but, being valetudinary, and weak of body, thought it neceſſary to ſpend many hours in ſuch exerciſes as might beſt relieve him after the fatigue of ſtudy. His favourite amuſement was archery, in which he ſpent, or, in the opinion of others, loſt ſo much time, that thoſe

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whom either his faults or virtues made his enemies, and perhaps ſome whoſe kindneſs wiſhed him always worthily employed, did not ſcruple to cenſure his practice, as unſuitable to a man profeſſing learning, and perhaps of bad example in a place of education.

To free himſelf from this cenſure was one of the reaſons for which he publiſhed, in 1544, his "Toxophilus, or the ſchole or partitions of ſhooting," in which he joins the praiſe with the precepts of archery. He deſigned not only to teach the art of ſhooting, but to give an example of diction more natural and more truly Engliſh than was uſed by the common writers of that age, whom he cenſures for mingling exotick terms with their native language, and of whom he complains, that they were made authors, not by ſkill or education, but by arrogance and temerity.

He has not failed in either of his purpoſes. He has ſufficiently vindicated archery as an innocent, ſalutary, uſeful, and liberal diverſion; and if his precepts are of no great uſe, he has only ſhown, by one example among many, how little the hand can derive from the mind, how little intelligence can conduce to dexterity. In every art, practice is much; in arts manual, practice is almoſt the whole. Precept can at moſt but warn againſt error, it can never beſtow excellence.

The bow has been ſo long diſuſed, that moſt Engliſh readers have forgotten its importance, though it was the weapon by which we gained the battle of Agincourt, a weapon which, when handled by Engliſh yeomen, no foreign troops were able to reſiſt. We were not only abler of body than the French,

and therefore ſuperior in the uſe of arms, which are forcible only in proportion to the ſtrength with which they are handled, but the national practice of ſhooting for pleaſure or for prizes, by which every man was inured to archery from his infancy, gave us inſuperable advantage, the bow requiring more practice to ſkilful uſe than any other inſtrument of offence.

Fire-arms were then in their infancy; and though battering-pieces had been ſome time in uſe, I know not whether any ſoldiers were armed with hand-guns when the "Toxophilus" was firſt publiſhed. They were ſoon after uſed by the Spaniſh troops, whom other nations made haſte to imitate: but how little they could yet effect, will be underſtood from the account given by the ingenious author of the "Exer-" "ciſe for the Norfolk Militia."

"The firſt muſkets were very heavy, and could "not be fired without a reſt; they had match-locks, "and barrels of a wide bore, that carried a large "ball and charge of powder, and did execution at a "greater diſtance.

"The muſketeers on a march carried only their "reſts and ammunition, and had boys to bear their "muſkets after them, for which they were allowed "great additional pay.

"They were very ſlow in loading, not only by "reaſon of the unwieldineſs of the pieces, and be-"cauſe they carried the powder and balls ſeparate, "but from the time it took to prepare and adjuſt "the match; ſo that their fire was not near ſo briſk "as ours is now. Afterwards a lighter kind of "match-lock muſket came into uſe, and they car-"ried their ammunition in bandeliers, which were

"broad

" broad belts that came over the ſhoulder, to which " were hung ſeveral little caſes of wood covered with " leather, each containing a charge of powder; the " balls they carried looſe in a pouch; and they had " alſo a priming-horn hanging by their ſide.

" The old Engliſh writers call thoſe large muſkets " calivers: the harquebuze was a lighter piece, that " could be fired without a reſt. The match-lock " was fired by a match fixed by a kind of tongs in " the ſerpentine or cock, which, by pulling the trig- " ger, was brought down with great quickneſs upon " the priming in the pan; over which there was a " ſliding cover, which was drawn back by the hand " juſt at the time of firing. There was a great deal " of nicety and care required to fit the match pro- " perly to the cock, ſo as to come down exactly " true on the priming, to blow the aſhes from the " coal, and to guard the pan from the ſparks that " fell from it. A great deal of time was alſo loſt in " taking it out of the cock, and returning it between " the fingers of the left hand every time that the " piece was fired; and wet weather often rendered " the matches uſeleſs."

While this was the ſtate of fire-arms, and this ſtate continued among us to the civil war with very little improvement, it is no wonder that the long-bow was preferred by Sir Thomas Smith, who wrote of the choice of weapons in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when the uſe of the bow ſtill continued, though the muſket was gradually prevailing. Sir John Hayward, a writer yet later, has, in his Hiſtory of the Norman kings, endeavoured to evince the ſuperiority of the archer to the muſketeer: however, in the long

peace of king James, the bow was wholly forgotten. Guns have from that time been the weapons of the Engliſh, as of other nations, and, as they are now improved, are certainly more efficacious.

Aſcham had yet another reaſon, if not for writing his book, at leaſt for preſenting it to king Henry. England was not then what it may be now juſtly termed, the capital of literature; and therefore thoſe who aſpired to ſuperior degrees of excellence, thought it neceſſary to travel into other countries. The purſe of Aſcham was not equal to the expence of peregrination; and therefore he hoped to have it augmented by a penſion. Nor was he wholly diſappointed; for the king rewarded him with an yearly payment of ten pounds.

A penſion of ten pounds granted by a king of England to a man of letters, appears to modern readers ſo contemptible a benefaction, that it is not unworthy of enquiry what might be its value at that time, and how much Aſcham might be enriched by it. Nothing is more uncertain than the eſtimation of wealth by denominated money; the precious metals never retain long the ſame proportion to real commodities, and the ſame names in different ages do not imply the ſame quantity of metal; ſo that it is equally difficult to know how much money was contained in any nominal ſum, and to find what any ſuppoſed quantity of gold or ſilver would purchaſe; both which are neceſſary to the commenſuration of money, or the adjuſtment of proportion between the ſame ſums at different periods of time.

A numeral pound in king Henry's time contained, as now, twenty ſhillings; and therefore it muſt be inquired

inquired what twenty ſhillings could perform. Bread-corn is the moſt certain ſtandard of the neceſſaries of life. Wheat was generally ſold at that time for one ſhilling the buſhel: if therefore we take five ſhillings the buſhel for the current price, ten pounds were equivalent to fifty. But here is danger of a fallacy. It may be doubted whether wheat was the general bread-corn of that age; and if rye, barley, or oats, were the common food, and wheat, as I ſuſpect, only a delicacy, the value of wheat will not regulate the price of other things. This doubt is however in favour of Aſcham; for if we raiſe the worth of wheat, we raiſe that of his penſion.

But the value of money has another variation, which we are ſtill leſs able to aſcertain: the rules of cuſtom, or the different needs of artificial life, make that revenue little at one time which is great at another. Men are rich and poor, not only in proportion to what they have, but to what they want. In ſome ages, not only neceſſaries are cheaper, but fewer things are neceſſary. In the age of Aſcham, moſt of the elegancies and expences of our preſent faſhions were unknown: commerce had not yet diſtributed ſuperfluity through the lower claſſes of the people, and the character of a ſtudent implied frugality, and required no ſplendour to ſupport it. His penſion, therefore, reckoning together the wants which he could ſupply, and the wants from which he was exempt, may be eſtimated, in my opinion, at more than one hundred pounds a year; which, added to the income of his fellowſhip, put him far enough above diſtreſs.

This

This was an year of good fortune to Aſcham. He was choſen orator to the univerſity on the removal of Sir John Cheke to court, where he was made tutor to prince Edward. A man once diſtinguiſhed ſoon gains admirers. Aſcham was now received to notice by many of the nobility, and by great ladies, among whom it was then the faſhion to ſtudy the ancient languages. Lee, archbiſhop of York, allowed him an yearly penſion; how much we are not told. He was probably about this time employed in teaching many illuſtrious perſons to write a fine hand; and, among others, Henry and Charles, dukes of Suffolk, the princeſs Elizabeth, and prince Edward.

Henry VIII. died two years after, and a reformation of religion being now openly proſecuted by king Edward and his council, Aſcham, who was known to favour it, had a new grant of his penſion, and continued at Cambridge, where he lived in great familiarity with Bucer, who had been called from Germany to the profeſſorſhip of divinity. But his retirement was ſoon at an end; for in 1548 his pupil Grindal, the maſter of the princeſs Elizabeth, died, and the princeſs, who had already ſome acquaintance with Aſcham, called him from his college to direct her ſtudies. He obeyed the ſummons, as we may eaſily believe, with readineſs, and for two years inſtructed her with great diligence; but then, being diſguſted either at her or her domeſticks, perhaps eager for another change of life, he left her without her conſent, and returned to the univerſity. Of this precipitation he long repented; and, as thoſe who are not accuſtomed to diſreſpect cannot eaſily forgive

it, he probably felt the effects of his imprudence to his death.

After having visited Cambridge, he took a journey into Yorkshire, to see his native place, and his old acquaintance, and there received a letter from the court, informing him, that he was appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morisine, who was to be dispatched as ambassador into Germany. In his return to London he paid that memorable visit to lady Jane Gray, in which he found her reading the *Phædo* in Greek, as he has related in his *Schoolmaster*.

In the year 1550, he attended Morisine to Germany, and wandered over great part of the country, making observations upon all that appeared worthy of his curiosity, and contracting acquaintance with men of learning. To his correspondent Sturmius he paid a visit, but Sturmius was not at home, and those two illustrious friends never saw each other. During the course of this embassy, Ascham undertook to improve Morisine in Greek, and for four days in the week explained some passages of *Herodotus* every morning, and more than two hundred verses of *Sophocles* or *Euripides* every afternoon. He read with him likewise some of the orations of *Demosthenes*. On the other days he compiled the letters of business, and in the night filled up his diary, digested his remarks, and wrote private letters to his friends in England, and particularly to those of his college, whom he continually exhorted to perseverance in study. Amidst all the pleasures of novelty which his travels supplied, and in the dignity of his publick station, he preferred the tranquillity of private study,

and

and the quiet of academical retirement. The reasonableness of this choice has been always disputed; and in the contrariety of human interests and dispositions, the controversy will not easily be decided.

He made a short excursion into Italy, and mentions in his *Schoolmaster* with great severity the vices of Venice. He was desirous of visiting Trent while the council were sitting; but the scantiness of his purse defeated his curiosity.

In this journey he wrote his *Report and discourse of the affairs in Germany*, in which he describes the dispositions and interests of the German princes like a man inquisitive and judicious, and recounts many particularities which are lost in the mass of general history, in a style which to the ears of that age was undoubtedly mellifluous, and which is now a very valuable specimen of genuine English.

By the death of king Edward in 1553, the Reformation was stopped, Morisine was recalled, and Ascham's pension and hopes were at an end. He therefore retired to his fellowship in a state of disappointment and despair, which his biographer has endeavoured to express in the deepest strain of plaintive declamation. "He was deprived of all his support," says Graunt, "stripped of his pension, and cut off "from the assistance of his friends, who had now lost "their influence; so that he had NEC PRÆMIA NEC "PRÆDIA, neither pension nor estate to support him "at Cambridge." There is no credit due to a rhetorician's account either of good or evil. The truth is, that Ascham still had in his fellowship all that in the early part of his life had given him plenty, and

 might

might have lived like the other inhabitants of the college with the advantage of more knowledge and higher reputation. But notwithſtanding his love of academical retirement, he had now too long enjoyed the pleaſures and feſtivities of publick life, to return with a good will to academical poverty.

He had however better fortune than he expected; and, if he lamented his condition like his hiſtorian, better than he deſerved. He had during his abſence in Germany been appointed Latin ſecretary to king Edward; and by the intereſt of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, he was inſtated in the ſame office under Philip and Mary, with a ſalary of twenty pounds a year.

Soon after his admiſſion to his new employment, he gave an extraordinary ſpecimen of his abilities and diligence, by compoſing and tranſcribing with his uſual elegance, in three days, forty-ſeven letters to princes and perſonages, of whom cardinals were the loweſt.

How Aſcham, who was known to be a Proteſtant, could preſerve the favour of Gardiner, and hold a place of honour and profit in queen Mary's court, it muſt be very natural to inquire. Cheke, as is well known, was compelled to a recantation; and why Aſcham was ſpared, cannot now be diſcovered. Graunt, at a time when the tranſactions of queen Mary's reign muſt have been well enough remembered, declares that Aſcham always made open profeſſion of the reformed religion, and that Englesfield and others often endeavoured to incite Gardiner againſt him, but found their accuſations rejected with contempt: yet he allows, that ſuſpicions and charges of

of temporization and compliance had somewhat sullied his reputation. The author of the Biographia Britannica conjectures, that he owed his safety to his innocence and usefulness; that it would have been unpopular to attack a man so little liable to censure, and that the loss of his pen could not have been easily supplied. But the truth is, that morality was never suffered in the days of persecution to protect heresy; nor are we sure that Ascham was more clear from common failings than those who suffered more; and whatever might be his abilities, they were not so necessary, but Gardiner could have easily filled his place with another secretary. Nothing is more vain, than at a distant time to examine the motives of discrimination and partiality; for the inquirer, having considered interest and policy, is obliged at last to omit more frequent and more active motives of human conduct, caprice, accident, and private affections.

At that time, if some were punished, many were forborne; and of many why should not Ascham happen to be one? He seems to have been calm and prudent, and content with that peace which he was suffered to enjoy: a mode of behaviour that seldom fails to produce security. He had been abroad in the last years of king Edward, and had at least given no recent offence. He was certainly, according to his own opinion, not much in danger; for in the next year he resigned his fellowship, which by Gardiner's favour he had continued to hold, though not resident; and married Margaret Howe, a young gentlewoman of a good family.

He was diſtinguiſhed in this reign by the notice of cardinal Pole, a man of great candour, learning, and gentleneſs of manners, and particularly eminent for his ſkill in Latin, who thought highly of Aſcham's ſtyle; of which it is no inconſiderable proof, that when Pole was deſirous of communicating a ſpeech made by himſelf as legate, in parliament, to the pope, he employed Aſcham to tranſlate it.

He is ſaid to have been not only protected by the officers of ſtate, but favoured and countenanced by the queen herſelf, ſo that he had no reaſon of complaint in that reign of turbulence and perſecution: nor was his fortune much mended, when in 1558 his pupil Elizabeth mounted the throne. He was continued in his former employment, with the ſame ſtipend: but though he was daily admitted to the preſence of the queen, aſſiſted her private ſtudies, and partook of her diverſions; ſometimes read to her in the learned languages, and ſometimes played with her at draughts and cheſs; he added nothing to his twenty pounds a year but the prebend of Weſtwang in the church of York, which was given him the year following. His fortune was therefore not proportionate to the rank which his offices and reputation gave him, or to the favour in which he ſeemed to ſtand with his miſtreſs. Of this parſimonious allotment it is again a hopeleſs ſearch to inquire the reaſon. The queen was not naturally bountiful, and perhaps did not think it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh by any prodigality of kindneſs a man who had formerly deſerted her, and whom ſhe might ſtill ſuſpect of ſerving rather for intereſt than affection. Graunt

exerts

exerts his rhetorical powers in praiſe of Aſcham's diſintereſtedneſs and contempt of money; and declares, that though he was often reproached by his friends with neglect of his own intereſt, he never would aſk any thing, and inflexibly refuſed all preſents which his office or imagined intereſt induced any to offer him. Camden, however, imputes the narrowneſs of his condition to his love of dice and cock-fights: and Graunt, forgetting himſelf, allows that Aſcham was ſometimes thrown into agonies by diſappointed expectations. It may be eaſily diſcovered from his *Schoolmaſter*, that he felt his wants, though he might neglect to ſupply them; and we are left to ſuſpect that he ſhewed his contempt of money only by loſing at play. If this was his practice, we may excuſe Elizabeth, who knew the domeſtick character of her ſervants, if ſhe did not give much to him who was laviſh of a little.

However he might fail in his œconomy, it were indecent to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man who ſhared his frailties with all, but whoſe learning or virtues few can attain, and by whoſe excellencies many may be improved, while himſelf only ſuffered by his faults.

In the reign of Elizabeth nothing remarkable is known to have befallen him, except that, in 1563, he was invited by ſir Edward Sackville to write the *Schoolmaſter*, a treatiſe on education, upon an occaſion which he relates in the beginning of the book.

This work, though begun with alacrity, in hopes of a conſiderable reward, was interrupted by the death of the patron, and afterwards ſorrowfully and ſlowly finiſhed, in the gloom of diſappointment, under the

pressure of distress. But of the author's disinclination or dejection there can be found no tokens in the work, which is conceived with great vigour, and finished with great accuracy; and perhaps contains the best advice that was ever given for the study of languages.

This treatise he completed, but did not publish; for that poverty which in our days drives authors so hastily in such numbers to the press, in the time of Ascham, I believe, debarred them from it. The printers gave little for a copy, and, if we may believe the tale of Ralegh's history, were not forward to print what was offered them for nothing. Ascham's book therefore lay unseen in his study, and was at last dedicated to lord Cecil by his widow.

Ascham never had a robust or vigorous body, and his excuse for so many hours of diversion was his inability to endure a long continuance of sedentary thought. In the latter part of his life he found it necessary to forbear any intense application of the mind from dinner to bed-time, and rose to read and write early in the morning. He was for some years hectically feverish; and though he found some alleviation of his distemper, never obtained a perfect recovery of his health. The immediate cause of his last sickness was too close application to the composition of a poem, which he purposed to present to the queen on the day of her accession. To finish this, he forbore to sleep at his accustomed hours, till in December 1568 he fell sick of a kind of lingering disease, which Graunt has not named, nor accurately described. The most afflictive symptom was want of sleep, which he endeavoured to obtain by the motion of a cradle. Growing every day weaker,

weaker, he found it vain to contend with his diſtemper, and prepared to die with the reſignation and piety of a true Chriſtian. He was attended on his death-bed by Gravet, vicar of St. Sepulchre, and Dr. Nowel, the learned dean of St. Paul's, who gave ample teſtimony to the decency and devotion of his concluding life. He frequently teſtified his deſire of that diſſolution which he ſoon obtained. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. Nowel.

Roger Aſcham died in the fifty-third year of his age, at a time when, according to the general courſe of life, much might yet have been expected from him, and when he might have hoped for much from others: but his abilities and his wants were at an end together; and who can determine, whether he was cut off from advantages, or reſcued from calamities? He appears to have been not much qualified for the improvement of his fortune. His diſpoſition was kind and ſocial; he delighted in the pleaſures of converſation, and was probably not much inclined to buſineſs. This may be ſuſpected from the paucity of his writings. He has left little behind him; and of that little nothing was publiſhed by himſelf but the *Toxophilus*, and the account of Germany. The *Schoolmaſter* was printed by his widow; and the epiſtles were collected by Graunt, who dedicated them to queen Elizabeth, that he might have an opportunity of recommending his ſon Giles Aſcham to her patronage. The dedication was not loſt: the young man was made, by the queen's mandate, fellow of a college in Cambridge, where he obtained conſiderable reputation. What was the effect of his widow's dedication to Cecil, is not known: it may

be hoped that Afcham's works obtained for his family, after his deceafe, that fupport which he did not in his life very plenteoufly procure them.

Whether he was poor by his own fault, or the fault of others, cannot now be decided; but it is certain that many have been rich with lefs merit. His philological learning would have gained him honour in any country; and among us it may juftly call for that reverence which all nations owe to thofe who firft roufe them from ignorance, and kindle among them the light of literature. Of his manners nothing can be faid but from his own teftimony, and that of his contemporaries. Thofe who mention him allow him many virtues. His courtefy, benevolence, and liberality, are celebrated; and of his piety we have not only the teftimony of his friends, but the evidence of his writings.

That his Englifh works have been fo long neglected, is a proof of the uncertainty of literary fame. He was fcarcely known as an author in his own language till Mr. Upton publifhed his *Schoolmafter* with learned notes. His other pieces were read only by thofe few who delight in obfolete books; but as they are now collected into one volume, with the addition of fome letters never printed before, the publick has an opportunity of recompenfing the injury, and allotting Afcham the reputation due to his knowledge and his eloquence.

LETTERS

BY

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL. D.

SELECTED FROM

The Collection of Mrs. Piozzi, and others.

LETTERS.

LETTER I. *To Mr.* JAMES ELPHINSTON.

DEAR SIR, Sept. 25th, 1750.

YOU have, as I find by every kind of evidence, loſt an excellent mother; and I hope you will not think me incapable of partaking of your grief. I have a mother, now eighty-two years of age, whom, therefore, I muſt ſoon loſe, unleſs it pleaſe God that ſhe rather ſhould mourn for me. I read the letters in which you relate your mother's death to Mrs. Strahan, and think I do myſelf honour, when I tell you, that I read them with tears; but tears are neither to *you*, nor to *me*, of any further uſe, when once the tribute of nature has been paid. The buſineſs of life ſummons us away from uſeleſs grief, and calls us to the exerciſe of thoſe virtues of which we are lamenting our deprivation.

The greateſt benefit which one friend can confer upon another, is to guard, and excite, and elevate his virtues. This your mother will ſtill perform, if you diligently preſerve the memory of her life, and of her death: a life, ſo far as I can learn, uſeful, wiſe, and innocent; and a death reſigned, peaceful, and

and holy. I cannot forbear to mention, that neither reaſon nor revelation denies you to hope, that you may increaſe her happineſs by obeying her precepts; and that ſhe may, in her preſent ſtate, look with pleaſure upon every act of virtue, to which her inſtructions or example have contributed. Whether this be more than a pleaſing dream, or a juſt opinion of ſeparate ſpirits, is, indeed, of no great importance to us, when we conſider ourſelves as acting under the eye of God: yet, ſurely, there is ſomething pleaſing in the belief, that our ſeparation from thoſe, whom we love, is merely corporeal; and it may be a great incitement to virtuous friendſhip, if it can be made probable, that that union, which has received the divine approbation, ſhall continue to eternity.

There is one expedient, by which you may, in ſome degree, continue her preſence. If you write down minutely what you remember of her from your earlieſt years, you will read it with great pleaſure, and receive from it many hints of ſoothing recollection, when time ſhall remove her yet farther from you, and your grief ſhall be matured to veneration. To this, however painful for the preſent, I cannot but adviſe you, as to a ſource of comfort and ſatisfaction in the time to come; for all comfort and all ſatisfaction is ſincerely wiſhed you by,

DEAR SIR,

Your moſt obliged, moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LETTER II. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

MADAM, London, Aug. 13, 1765.

IF you have really ſo good an opinion of me as you expreſs, it will not be neceſſary to inform you, how unwillingly I miſs the opportunity of coming to Brighthelmſtone in Mr. Thrale's company; or, ſince I cannot do what I wiſh firſt, how eagerly I ſhall catch the ſecond degree of pleaſure, by coming to you and him, as ſoon as I can diſmiſs my work from my hands.

I am afraid to make promiſes even to myſelf; but I hope that the week after the next will be the end of my preſent buſineſs. When buſineſs is done, what remains but pleaſure? and where ſhould pleaſure be ſought, but under Mrs. Thrale's influence?

Do not blame me for a delay by which I muſt ſuffer ſo much, and by which I ſuffer alone. If you cannot think I am good, pray think I am mending, and that in time I may deſerve to be, dear Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER III. *To the Same.*

MADAM, Lichfield, July 20, 1767.

THOUGH I have been away ſo much longer than I purpoſed or expected, I have found nothing that withdraws my affections from the friends whom I left behind, or which makes me leſs deſirous of repoſing at that place which your kindneſs and Mr. Thrale's allows me to call my *home*.

Miſs

Miſs Lucy * is more kind and civil than I expected, and has raiſed my eſteem by many excellencies very noble and reſplendent, though a little diſcoloured by hoary virginity. Every thing elſe recals to my remembrance years, in which I propoſed what, I am afraid, I have not done, and promiſed myſelf pleaſure which I have not found. But complaint can be of no uſe; and why then ſhould I depreſs your hopes by my lamentations? I ſuppoſe it is the condition of humanity to deſign what never will be done, and to hope what never will be obtained. But among the vain hopes, let me not number the hope which I have, of being long, dear Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER IV. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

MADAM, Lichfield, Auguſt 14, 1769.

I SET out on Thurſday morning, and found my companion, to whom I was very much a ſtranger, more agreeable than I expected. We went cheerfully forward, and paſſed the night at Coventry. We came in late, and went out early; and therefore I did not ſend for my couſin Tom; but I deſign to make him ſome amends for the omiſſion.

Next day we came early to Lucy, who was, I believe, glad to ſee us. She had ſaved her beſt gooſeberries upon the tree for me; and, as Steele ſays, *I was neither too proud nor too wiſe* to gather them. I have rambled a very little *inter fontes et flumina nota*, but I am not yet well. They have cut down

* Miſs Lucy Porter, daughter to Dr. Johnſon's wife by a former huſband.

the

the trees in George Lane. Evelyn, in his book of Foreſt Trees, tells us of wicked men that cut down trees, and never proſpered afterwards; yet nothing has deterred theſe audacious aldermen from violating the Hamadryads of George Lane. As an impartial traveller I muſt however tell, that in Stow-ſtreet, where I left a draw-well, I have found a pump; but the lading-well in this ill-fated George Lane lies ſhamefully neglected.

I am going to-day or to-morrow to Aſhbourne; but I am at a loſs how I ſhall get back in time to London. Here are only chance coaches, ſo that there is no certainty of a place. If I do not come, let it not hinder your journey. I can be but a few days behind you; and I will follow in the Brighthelmſtone coach. But I hope to come.

I took care to tell Miſs Porter, that I have got another Lucy. I hope ſhe is well. Tell Mrs. Saluſbury, that I beg her ſtay at Streatham, for little Lucy's ſake. I am, *&c.*

LETTER V. *To the Same.*

MADAM, Lichfield, July 11, 1770.

SINCE my laſt letter nothing extraordinary has happened. Rheumatiſm, which has been very troubleſome, is grown better. I have not yet ſeen Dr. Taylor, and July runs faſt away. I ſhall not have much time for him, if he delays much longer to come or ſend. Mr. Grene, the apothecary, has found a book, which tells who paid levies in our pariſh,

parifh, and how much they paid, above an hundred years ago. Do you not think we ftudy this book hard? Nothing is like going to the bottom of things. Many families that paid the parifh-rates are now extinct, like the race of Hercules. *Pulvis et umbra fumus*. What is neareft us touches us moft. The paffions rife higher at domeftic than at imperial tragedies. I am not wholly unaffected by the revolutions of Sadler-ftreet; nor can forbear to mourn a little when old names vanifh away, and new come into their place.

Do not imagine, Madam, that I wrote this letter for the fake of thefe philofophical meditations; for when I began it, I had neither Mr. Grene, nor his book, in my thoughts; but was refolved to write, and did not know what I had to fend, but my refpects to Mrs. Salufbury, and Mr. Thrale, and Harry, and the Miffes. I am, deareft Madam, your, &c.

LETTER VI. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, Afhbourne, July 23, 1770.

THERE had not been fo long an interval between my two laft letters, but that when I came hither I did not at firft underftand the hours of the poft.

I have feen the great bull; and very great he is. I have feen likewife his heir apparent, who promifes to inherit all the bulk and all the virtues of his fire. I have feen the man who offered a hundred guineas for

for the young bull, while he was yet little better than a calf. Matlock, I am afraid, I ſhall not ſee, but I purpoſe to ſee Dovedale; and after all this ſeeing, I hope to ſee you. I am, *&c.*

LETTER VII. *To the Same.*

DEAR MADAM, Aſhbourne, July 3, 1771.

LAST Saturday I came to Aſhbourne; the dangers or the pleaſures of the journey I have at preſent no diſpoſition to recount; elſe might I paint the beauties of my native plains; might I tell of "the ſmiles of nature, and the charms of art:" elſe might I relate how I croſſed the Staffordſhire canal, one of the great efforts of human labour, and human contrivance; which, from the bridge on which I viewed it, paſſed away on either ſide, and loſes itſelf in diſtant regions, uniting waters that nature had divided, and dividing lands which nature had united. I might tell how theſe reflections fermented in my mind till the chaiſe ſtopped at Aſhbourne, at Aſhbourne in the Peak. Let not the barren name of the Peak terrify you; I have never wanted ſtrawberries and cream. The great bull has no diſeaſe but age. I hope in time to be like the great bull; and hope you will be like him too a hundred years hence. I am, *&c.*

LETTER VIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, Aſhbourne, July 10, 1771.

I AM obliged to my friend Harry, for his remembrance; but think it a little hard that I hear nothing from Miſs.

There has been a man here to-day to take a farm. After ſome talk he went to ſee the bull, and ſaid that he had ſeen a bigger. Do you think he is likely to get the farm?

Toujours ſtrawberries and cream.

Dr. Taylor is much better, and my rheumatiſm is leſs painful. Let me hear in return as much good of you and of Mrs. Saluſbury. You deſpiſe the Dog and Duck; things that are at hand are always ſlighted. I remember that Dr. Grevil, of Glouceſter, ſent for that water when his wife was in the ſame danger; but he lived near Malvern, and you live near the Dog and Duck. Thus, in difficult caſes, we naturally truſt moſt what we leaſt know.

Why Bromfield, ſuppoſing that a lotion can do good, ſhould deſpiſe laurel-water in compariſon with his own receipt, I do not ſee; and ſee ſtill leſs why he ſhould laugh at that which Wall thinks efficacious. I am afraid philoſophy will not warrant much hope in a lotion.

Be pleaſed to make my compliments from Mrs. Saluſbury to Suſy. I am, &c.

LETTER IX. *To the Same.*

MADAM, October 31, 1772.

THOUGH I am juſt informed, that, by ſome accidental negligence, the letter which I wrote on Thurſday was not given to the poſt, yet I cannot refuſe myſelf the gratification of writing again to my miſtreſs; not that I have any thing to tell, but that by ſhowing how much I am employed upon you, I hope to keep you from forgetting me.

Doctor Taylor aſked me this morning on what I was thinking? and I was thinking on Lucy. I hope Lucy is a good girl. But ſhe cannot yet be ſo good as Queeney. I have got nothing yet for Queeney's cabinet.

I hope dear Mrs. Saluſbury grows no worſe. I wiſh any thing could be found that would make her better. You muſt remember her admonition, and buſtle in the brewhouſe. When I come you may expect to have your hands full with all of us.

Our bulls and cows are all well; but we yet hate the man that had ſeen a bigger bull. Our deer have died; but many are left. Our waterfall at the garden makes a great roaring this wet weather.

And ſo no more at preſent from, Madam, your *&c.*

LETTER X. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Nov. 23, 1772.

I AM ſorry that none of your letters bring better news of the poor dear lady. I hope her pain is not great. To have a diſeaſe confeſſedly incurable and apparently mortal is a very heavy affliction; and it is ſtill more grievous when pain is added to deſpair.

Every thing elſe in your letter pleaſed me very well, except that when I come I entreat I may not be flattered, as your letters flatter me. You have read of heroes and princes ruined by flattery, and I queſtion if any of them had a flatterer ſo dangerous as you. Pray keep ſtrictly to your character of governeſs.

I cannot yet get well; my nights are flatulent and unquiet, but my days are tolerably eaſy, and Taylor ſays that I look much better than when I came hither. You will ſee when I come, and I can take your word.

Our houſe affords no revolutions. The great bull is well. But I write not merely to think on you, for I do that without writing, but to keep you a little thinking on me. I perceive that I have taken a broken piece of paper, but that is not the greateſt fault that you muſt forgive in, Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER XI. *To the Same.*

DEAR MADAM, Nov. 27. 1772.

IF you are ſo kind as to write to me on Saturday, the day on which you will receive this, I ſhall have it before I leave Aſhbourne. I am to go to Lichfield on Wedneſday, and purpoſe to find my way to London through Birmingham and Oxford.

I was yeſterday at Chatſworth. It is a very fine houſe. I wiſh you had been with me to ſee it; for then, as we are apt to want matter of talk, we ſhould have gained ſomething new to talk on. They complimented me with playing the fountain, and opening the caſcade. But I am of my friend's opinion, that when one has ſeen the ocean, caſcades are but little things.

I am in hope of a letter to-day from you or Queeney, but the poſt has made ſome blunder, and the packet is not yet diſtributed. I wiſh it may bring me a little good of you all. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XII. *To the Same.*

MADAM, Tueſday, Jan. 26, 1773.

THE inequalities of human life have always employed the meditation of deep thinkers, and I cannot forbear to reflect on the difference between your condition and my own. You live upon mock turtle, and ſtewed rumps of beef; I dined yeſterday upon crumpets. You ſit with pariſh officers, careſſing and careſſed, the idol of the table, and the won-

der of the day. I pine in the folitude of ficknefs, not bad enough to be pitied, and not well enough to be endured. You fleep away the night, and laugh or fcold away the day. I cough and grumble, and grumble and cough. Laft night was very tedious, and this day makes no promifes of much eafe. However, I have this day put on my fhoe, and hope that gout is gone. I fhall have only the cough to contend with, and I doubt whether I fhall get rid of that without change of place. I caught cold in the coach as I went away, and am difordered by very little things. Is it accident or age? I am, deareft Madam, &c.

LETTER XIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, March 17, 1773.

TO tell you that I am forry both for the poor lady and for you is ufelefs. I cannot help either of you. The weaknefs of mind is perhaps only a cafual interruption or intermiffion of the attention, fuch as we all fuffer when fome weighty care or urgent calamity has poffeffion of the mind. She will compofe herfelf. She is unwilling to die, and the firft conviction of approaching death raifed great perturbation. I think fhe has but very lately thought death clofe at hand. She will compofe herfelf to do that as well as fhe can, which muft at laft be done. May fhe not want the Divine affiftance.

You, Madam, will have a great lofs; a greater than is common in the lofs of a parent. Fill your mind with hope of her happinefs, and turn your thoughts

thoughts firſt to Him who gives and takes away, in whoſe preſence the living and dead are ſtanding together. Then remember, that when this mournful duty is paid, others yet remain of equal obligation, and, we may hope, of leſs painful performance. Grief is a ſpecies of idleneſs, and the neceſſity of attention to the preſent preſerves us, by the merciful diſpoſition of Providence, from being lacerated and devoured by ſorrow for the paſt. You muſt think on your huſband and your children, and do what this dear lady has done for you.

Not to come to town while the great ſtruggle continues is undoubtedly well reſolved. But do not haraſs yourſelf into danger; you owe the care of your health to all that love you, at leaſt to all whom it is your duty to love. You cannot give ſuch a mother too much, if you do not give her what belongs to another. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XIV. *To the Same.*

DEAR MADAM, April 27, 1773.

HOPE is more pleaſing than fear, but not leſs fallacious; you know, when you do not try to deceive yourſelf, that the diſeaſe which at laſt is to deſtroy, muſt be gradually growing worſe, and that it is vain to wiſh for more than that the deſcent to death may be ſlow and eaſy. In this wiſh I join with you, and hope it will be granted. Dear, dear lady, whenever ſhe is loſt ſhe will be miſſed, and whenever ſhe is remembered ſhe will be lamented. Is it a good or an evil to me that ſhe now loves me?

me? It is ſurely a good; for you will love me better, and we ſhall have a new principle of concord; and I ſhall be happier with honeſt ſorrow, than with ſullen indifference; and far happier ſtill than with counterfeited ſympathy.

I am reaſoning upon a principle very far from certain, a confidence of ſurvivance. You or I, or both, may be called into the preſence of the Supreme Judge before her. I have lived a life of which I do not like the review. Surely I ſhall in time live better.

I ſat down with an intention to write high compliments, but my thoughts have taken another courſe, and ſome other time muſt now ſerve to tell you with what other emotions, benevolence, and fidelity, I am, *&c.*

LETTER XV. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

MADAM, May 17, 1773.

NEVER imagine that your letters are long; they are always too ſhort for my curioſity. I do not know that I was ever content with a ſingle peruſal.

Of dear Mrs. Saluſbury I never expect much better news than you ſend me; *de pis en pis* is the natural and certain courſe of her dreadful malady. I am content when it leaves her eaſe enough for the exerciſe of her mind.

Why ſhould Mr. * * * * * ſuppoſe that what I took the liberty of ſuggeſting was concerted with you? He does not know how much I revolve his affairs, and how honeſtly I deſire his proſperity. I hope

hope he has let the hint take ſome hold of his mind.

Your declaration to Miſs * * * * is more general than my opinions allow. I think an unlimited promiſe of acting by the opinion of another ſo wrong, that nothing, or hardly any thing, can make it right. All unneceſſary vows are folly, becauſe they ſuppoſe a preſcience of the future which has not been given us. They are I think a crime, becauſe they reſign that life to chance which God has given us to be regulated by reaſon; and ſuperinduce a kind of fatality, from which it is the great privilege of our nature to be free. Unlimited obedience is due only to the Univerſal Father of Heaven and Earth. My parents may be mad and fooliſh; may be wicked and malicious; may be erroneouſly religious, or abſurdly ſcrupulous. I am not bound to compliance with mandates either poſitive or negative, which either religion condemns, or reaſon rejects. There wanders about the world a wild notion, which extends over marriage more than over any other tranſaction. If Miſs * * * * followed a trade, would it be ſaid that ſhe was bound in conſcience to give or refuſe credit at her father's choice? And is not marriage a thing in which ſhe is more intereſted, and has therefore more right of choice? When I may ſuffer for my own crimes, when I may be ſued for my own debts, I may judge by parity of reaſon for my own happineſs. The parent's moral right can ariſe only from his kindneſs, and his civil right only from his money.

Conſcience cannot dictate obedience to the wicked, or compliance with the fooliſh; and of intereſt mere prudence is the judge.

If

If the daughter is bound without a promiſe, ſhe promiſes nothing; and if ſhe is not bound, ſhe promiſes too much.

What is meant by tying up money in trade I do not underſtand. No money is ſo little tied as that which is employed in trade. Mr. * * * * perhaps only means, that in conſideration of money to be advanced, he will oblige his ſon to be a trader. This is reaſonable enough. Upon ten thouſand pounds diligently occupied, they may live in great plenty and ſplendour, without the miſchiefs of idleneſs.

I can write a long letter as well as my miſtreſs; and ſhall be glad that my long letters may be as welcome as her's.

My nights are grown again very uneaſy and troubleſome. I know not that the country will mend them; but I hope your company will mend my days. Though I cannot now expect much attention, and would not wiſh for more than can be ſpared from the poor dear lady, yet I ſhall ſee you and hear you every now and then; and to ſee and hear you, is always to hear wit, and to ſee virtue.

I ſhall, I hope, ſee you to-morrow, and a little on the two next days; and with that little I muſt for the preſent try to be contented. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XVI. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, August 12, 1773.

WE left London on Friday the ſixth, not very early, and travelled without any memorable accident through a country which I had ſeen before. In the evening I was not well, and was forced to ſtop at Stilton, one ſtage ſhort of Stamford, where we intended to have lodged.

On the 7th we paſſed through Stamford and Grantham, and dined at Newark, where I had only time to obſerve that the market-place was uncommonly ſpacious and neat. In London we ſhould call it a ſquare, though the ſides were neither ſtraight nor parallel. We came, at night, to Doncaſter, and went to church in the morning, where Chambers found the monument of Robert of Doncaſter, who ſays on his ſtone ſomething like this:—What I gave, that I have; what I ſpent, that I had; what I left, that I loſt.—So ſaith Robert of Doncaſter, who reigned in the world ſixty-ſeven years, and all that time lived not one. Here we were invited to dinner, and therefore made no great haſte away.

We reached York however that night; I was much diſordered with old complaints. Next morning we ſaw the Minſter, an edifice of loftineſs and elegance equal to the higheſt hopes of architecture. I remember nothing but the dome of St. Paul's that can be compared with the middle walk. The Chapter-houſe is a circular building, very ſtately, but I think excelled by the Chapter-houſe of Lincoln.

I then

I then went to ſee the ruins of the Abbey, which are almoſt vaniſhed, and I remember nothing of them diſtinct.

The next viſit was to the jail, which they call the caſtle; a fabrick built lately, ſuch is terreſtrial mutability, out of the materials of the ruined Abbey. The under jailor was very officious to ſhew his fetters, in which there was no contrivance. The head jailor came in, and ſeeing me look I ſuppoſe fatigued, offered me wine, and when I went away would not ſuffer his ſervant to take money. The jail is accounted the beſt in the kingdom, and you find the jailor deſerving of his dignity.

We dined at York, and went on to Northallerton, a place of which I know nothing, but that it afforded us a lodging on Monday night, and about two hundred and ſeventy years ago gave birth to Roger Aſcham.

Next morning we changed our horſes at Darlington, where Mr. Cornelius Harriſon, a couſin-german of mine, was perpetual curate. He was the only one of my relations who ever roſe in fortune above penury, or in character above neglect.

The church is built croſſwiſe, with a fine ſpire, and might invite a traveller to ſurvey it, but I perhaps wanted vigour, and thought I wanted time.

The next ſtage brought us to Durham, a place of which Mr. Thrale bad me take particular notice. The Biſhop's palace has the appearance of an old feudal caſtle, built upon an eminence, and looking down upon the river, upon which was formerly thrown a draw-bridge, as I ſuppoſe to be raiſed at night, leſt the Scots ſhould paſs it.

The

The cathedral has a maſſyneſs and ſolidity ſuch as I have ſeen in no other place; it rather awes than pleaſes, as it ſtrikes with a kind of gigantick dignity, and aſpires to no other praiſe than that of rocky ſolidity and indeterminate duration. I had none of my friends reſident, and therefore ſaw but little. The library is mean and ſcanty.

At Durham, beſide all expectation, I met an old friend: Miſs Fordyce is married there to a phyſician. We met, I think, with honeſt kindneſs on both ſides. I thought her much decayed, and having ſince heard that the banker had involved her huſband in his extenſive ruin, I cannot forbear to think that I ſaw in her withered features more impreſſion of ſorrow than of time.

Qua terra patet, fera regnat Erinnys.

He that wanders about the world ſees new forms of human miſery, and if he chances to meet an old friend, meets a face darkened with troubles.

On Tueſday night we came hither; yeſterday I took ſome care of myſelf, and to-day I am *quite polite*. I have been taking a view of all that could be ſhewn me, and find that all very near to nothing. You have often heard me complain of finding myſelf diſappointed by books of travels; I am afraid travel itſelf will end likewiſe in diſappointment. One town, one country, is very like another: civilized nations have the ſame cuſtoms, and barbarous nations have the ſame nature: there are indeed minute diſcriminations both of places and of manners, which perhaps are not wanting of curioſity, but which a traveller ſeldom ſtays long enough to inveſtigate and compare.

The

The dull utterly neglect them, the acute see a little, and supply the rest with fancy and conjecture.

I shall set out again to morrow, but I shall not, I am afraid, see Alnwick, for Dr. Percy is not there. I hope to lodge to-morrow night at Berwick, and the next at Edinburgh, where I shall direct Mr. Drummond, bookseller at Ossian's head, to take care of my letters.

I hope the little dears are all well, and that my dear master and mistress may go somewhither, but wherever you go do not forget, Madam, your most humble servant.

I am pretty well.

August 15.

Thus far I had written at Newcastle. I forgot to send it. I am now at Edinburgh; and have been this day running about. I run pretty well.

LETTER XVII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Edinburgh, August 17, 1773.

ON the 13th, I left Newcastle, and in the afternoon came to Alnwick, where we were treated with great civility by the Duke: I went through the apartments, walked on the wall, and climbed the towers. That night we lay at Belford, and on the next night came to Edinburgh. On Sunday (15th) I went to the English chapel. After dinner Dr. Robertson came in, and promised to shew me the place. On Monday I saw their public buildings: the cathedral, which I told Robertson I wished to see

ſee becauſe it had once been a church, the courts of juſtice, the parliament-houſe, the advocates' library, the repoſitory of records, the college and its library, and the palace, particularly the old tower where the king of Scotland ſeized David Rizzio in the queen's preſence. Moſt of their buildings are very mean; and the whole town bears ſome reſemblance to the old part of Birmingham.

Boſwell has very handſome and ſpacious rooms; level with the ground on one ſide of the houſe, and on the other four ſtories high.

At dinner on Monday were the Ducheſs of Douglas, an old lady, who talks broad Scotch with a paralytick voice, and is ſcarce underſtood by her own countrymen; the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and many more. At ſupper there was ſuch a conflux of company that I could ſcarcely ſupport the tumult. I have never been well in the whole journey, and am very eaſily diſordered.

This morning I ſaw at breakfaſt Dr. Blacklock, the blind poet, who does not remember to have ſeen light, and is read to, by a poor ſcholar, in Latin, Greek, and French. He was originally a poor ſcholar himſelf. I looked on him with reverence. To-morrow our journey begins; I know not when I ſhall write again. I am but poorly. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XVIII. *To the Same.*

DEAR MADAM, Bamff, Auguſt 25, 1773.

IT has ſo happened that though I am perpetually thinking on you, I could ſeldom find opportunity to

to write; I have in fourteen days ſent only one letter; you muſt conſider the fatigues of travel, and the difficulties encountered in a ſtrange country.

Auguſt 18th, I paſſed, with Boſwell, the Frith of Forth, and began our journey; in the paſſage we obſerved an iſland, which I perſuaded my companions to ſurvey. We found it a rock ſomewhat troubleſome to climb, about a mile long, and half a mile broad; in the middle were the ruins of an old fort, which had on one of the ſtones—Maria Re. 1564. It had been only a blockhouſe one ſtory high. I meaſured two apartments, of which the walls were entire, and found them twenty-ſeven feet long, and twenty-three broad. The rock had ſome graſs and many thiſtles, both cows and ſheep were grazing. There was a ſpring of water. The name is Inchkeith. Look on your maps. This viſit took about an hour. We pleaſed ourſelves with being in a country all our own, and then went back to the boat, and landed at Kinghorn, a mean town, and travelling through Kirkaldie, a very long town meanly built, and Cowpar, which I could not ſee becauſe it was night, we came late to St. Andrew's, the moſt ancient of the Scotch univerſities, and once the ſee of the Primate of Scotland. The inn was full, but lodgings were provided for us at the houſe of the profeſſor of rhetorick, a man of elegant manners, who ſhowed us, in the morning, the poor remains of a ſtately cathedral, demoliſhed in Knox's reformation, and now only to be imaged by tracing its foundation, and contemplating the little ruins that are left. Here was once a religious houſe. Two of the vaults or cellars of the ſubprior are even yet entire. In one of them

them lives an old woman, who claims an hereditary residence in it, boasting that her husband was the sixth tenant of this gloomy mansion, in a lineal descent, and claims by her marriage with this lord of the cavern an alliance with the Bruces. Mr. Boswell staid a while to interrogate her, because he understood her language; she told him, that she and her cat lived together; that she had two sons somewhere, who might perhaps be dead; that when there were quality in the town notice was taken of her, and that now she was neglected, but did not trouble them. Her habitation contained all that she had; her turf for fire was laid in one place, and her balls of coal dust in another, but her bed seemed to be clean. Boswell asked her, if she never heard any noises; but she could tell him of nothing supernatural, though she often wandered in the night among the graves and ruins, only she had sometimes notice by dreams of the death of her relations. We then viewed the remains of a castle on the margin of the sea, in which the archbishops resided, and in which Cardinal Beatoun was killed.

The professors who happened to be resident in the vacation made a publick dinner, and treated us very kindly and respectfully. They shewed us their colleges, in one of which there is a library that for luminousness and elegance may vie at least with the new edifice at Streatham. But learning seems not to prosper among them; one of their colleges has been lately alienated, and one of their churches lately deserted. An experiment was made of planting a shrubbery in the church, but it did not thrive.

Why the place ſhould thus fall to decay, I know not; for education, ſuch as is here to be had, is ſufficiently cheap. Their term, or, as they call it, their ſeſſion, laſts ſeven months in the year, which the ſtudents of the higheſt rank and greateſt expence may paſs here for twenty pounds, in which are included board, lodging, books, and the continual inſtruction of three profeſſors.

20th, We left St. Andrew's, well ſatisfied with our reception, and, croſſing the Frith of Tay, came to Dundee, a dirty, deſpicable town. We paſſed afterwards through Aberbrothick, famous once for an abbey, of which there are only a few fragments left, but thoſe fragments teſtify that the fabrick was once of great extent, and of ſtupendous magnificence. Two of the towers are yet ſtanding, though ſhattered; into one of them Boſwell climbed, but found the ſtairs broken: the way into the other we did not ſee, and had not time to ſearch; I believe it might be aſcended, but the top, I think, is open.

We lay at Montroſe, a neat place, with a ſpacious area for the market, and an elegant town-houſe.

21ſt, We travelled towards Aberdeen, another univerſity, and in the way dined at Lord Monboddo's, the Scotch judge, who has lately written a ſtrange book about the origin of language, in which he traces monkeys up to men, and ſays that in ſome countries the human ſpecies have tails like other beaſts. He enquired for theſe long-tailed men of Banks, and was not well pleaſed that they had not been found in all his peregrination. He talked nothing of this to me, and I hope we parted friends; for we agreed pretty well, only we diſputed in adjuſting

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ing the claims of merit between a ſhopkeeper of London, and a ſavage of the American wilderneſſes. Our opinions were, I think, maintained on both ſides without full conviction; Monboddo declared boldly for the ſavage, and I, perhaps for that reaſon, ſided with the citizen.

We came late to Aberdeen, where I found my dear miſtreſs's letter, and learned that all our little people were happily recovered of the meaſles. Every part of your letter was pleaſing.

There are two cities of the name of Aberdeen: the old town, built about a mile inland, once the ſee of a biſhop, which contains the King's College, and the remains of the cathedral, and the new town, which ſtands, for the ſake of trade, upon a frith or arm of the ſea, ſo that ſhips reſt againſt the key.

The two cities have their ſeparate magiſtrates, and the two colleges are in effect two univerſities, which confer degrees independently of each other.

New Aberdeen is a large town, built almoſt wholly of that granite which is uſed for the new pavement in London, which, hard as it is, they ſquare with very little difficulty. Here I firſt ſaw the women in plaids. The plaid makes at once a hood and cloak, without cutting or ſewing, merely by the manner of drawing the oppoſite ſides over the ſhoulders. The maids at the inns run over the houſe barefoot, and children, not dreſſed in rags, go without ſhoes or ſtockings. Shoes are indeed not yet in univerſal uſe, they came late into this country. One of the profeſſors told us, as we were mentioning a fort built by Cromwell, that the country owed much of its preſent induſtry to Cromwell's ſoldiers. They

taught us, ſaid he, to raiſe cabbage and make ſhoes. How they lived without ſhoes may yet be ſeen; but in the paſſage through villages, it ſeems to him that ſurveys their gardens, that when they had not cabbage they had nothing.

Education is here of the ſame price as at St. Andrew's, only the ſeſſion is but from the 1ſt of November to the 1ſt of April. The academical buildings ſeem rather to advance than decline. They ſhewed their libraries, which were not very ſplendid, but ſome manuſcripts were ſo exquiſitely penned that I wiſhed my dear miſtreſs to have ſeen them. I had an unexpected pleaſure, by finding an old acquaintance now profeſſor of phyſick in the King's College: we were on both ſides glad of the interview, having not ſeen nor perhaps thought on one another for many years; but we had no emulation, nor had either of us riſen to the other's envy, and our old kindneſs was eaſily renewed. I hope we ſhall never try the effect of ſo long an abſence, and that I ſhall always be, Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER XIX. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Inverneſs, Aug. 28, 1773.

AUGUST 23d, I had the honour of attending the Lord Provoſt of Aberdeen, and was preſented with the freedom of the city, not in a gold box, but in good Latin. Let me pay Scotland one juſt praiſe! there was no officer gaping for a fee; this could have been ſaid of no city on the Engliſh ſide of the Tweed. I wore my patent of freedom

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pro more in my hat, from the new town to the old, about a mile. I then dined with my friend the professor of physick at his house, and saw the King's College. Boswell was very angry that the Aberdeen professors would not talk. When I was at the English church in Aberdeen, I happened to be espied by Lady Di. Middleton, whom I had sometime seen in London; she told what she had seen to Mr. Boyd, Lord Errol's brother, who wrote us an invitation to Lord Errol's house, called Slanes Castle. We went thither on the next day (24th of August), and found a house, not old, except but one tower, built upon the margin of the sea upon a rock, scarce accessible from the sea; at one corner a tower makes a perpendicular continuation of the lateral surface of the rock, so that it is impracticable to walk round; the house inclosed a square court, and on all sides within the court is a piazza or gallery two stories high. We came in as we were invited to dinner, and after dinner offered to go; but Lady Errol sent us word by Mr. Boyd, that if we went before Lord Errol came home we must never be forgiven, and ordered out the coach to shew us two curiosities. We were first conducted by Mr. Boyd to Dunbuys, or the yellow rock. Dunbuys is a rock consisting of two protuberances, each perhaps one hundred yards round, joined together by a narrow neck, and separated from the land by a very narrow channel or gully. These rocks are the haunts of sea-fowl, whose clang, though this is not their season, we heard at a distance. The eggs and the young are gathered here in great numbers at the time of breeding. There is a bird here called a coote, which though not much bigger than

a duck lays a larger egg than a gooſe. We went then to ſee the Buller or Boulloir of Buchan: Buchan is the name of the diſtrict, and the Buller is a ſmall creek or gulf into which the ſea flows through an arch of the rock. We walked round it, and ſaw it black at a great depth. It has its name from the violent ebullition of the water, when high winds or high tides drive it up the arch into the baſon. Walking a little further I ſpied ſome boats, and told my companions that we would go into the Buller and examine it. There was no danger; all was calm; we went through the arch, and found ourſelves in a narrow gulf ſurrounded by craggy rocks, of height not ſtupendous, but to a Mediterranean viſitor uncommon. On each ſide was a cave, of which the fiſhermen knew not the extent, in which ſmugglers hide their goods, and ſometimes parties of pleaſure take a dinner. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XX. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, Skie, Sept. 6, 1773.

I AM now looking on the ſea from a Houſe of Sir Alexander Macdonald in the iſle of Skie. Little did I once think of ſeeing this region of obſcurity, and little did you once expect a ſalutation from this verge of European life. I have now the pleaſure of going where nobody goes, and ſeeing what nobody ſees. Our deſign is to viſit ſeveral of the ſmaller iſlands, and then paſs over to the ſouth weſt of Scotland.

I re-

I returned from the ſight of Buller's Buchan to Lord Errol's, and, having ſeen his library, had for a time only to look upon the ſea, which rolled between us and Norway. Next morning, Auguſt 25th, we continued our journey through a country not uncultivated, but ſo denuded of its woods, that in all this journey I had not travelled an hundred yards between hedges, or ſeen five trees fit for the carpenter. A few ſmall plantations may be found, but I believe ſcarcely any thirty years old; at leaſt, they are all poſteriour to the Union. This day we dined with a country gentleman, who has in his grounds the remains of a Druid's temple, which, when it is complete, is nothing more than a circle or double circle of ſtones, placed at equal diſtances, with a flat ſtone, perhaps an altar, at a certain point, and a ſtone taller than the reſt at the oppoſite point. The tall ſtone is erected I think at the ſouth. Of theſe circles there are many in all the unfrequented parts of the iſland. The inhabitants of theſe parts reſpect them as memorials of the ſculpture of ſome illuſtrious perſon. Here I ſaw a few trees. We lay at Bamff.

Auguſt 26th, We dined at Elgin, where we ſaw the ruins of a noble cathedral; the chapter-houſe is yet ſtanding. A great part of Elgin is built with ſmall piazzas to the lower ſtory. We went on to Foris, over the heath where Macbeth met the witches, but had no adventure; only in the way we ſaw for the firſt time ſome houſes with fruit trees about them. The improvements of the Scotch are for immediate profit, they do not yet think it quite worth their

while to plant what will not produce ſomething to be eaten or ſold in a very little time. We reſted at Foris.

A very great proportion of the people are barefoot; ſhoes are not yet conſidered as neceſſaries of life. It is ſtill the cuſtom to ſend out the ſons of Gentlemen without them into the ſtreets and ways. There are more beggars than I have ever ſeen in England: they beg if not ſilently, yet very modeſtly.

Next day we came to Nairn, a miſerable town, but a royal burgh, of which the chief annual magiſtrate is ſtyled Lord Provoſt. In the neighbourhood we ſaw the caſtle of the old Thane of Cawdor. There is one ancient tower with its battlements and winding ſtairs yet remaining; the reſt of the houſe is, though not modern, of later erection.

On the 28th we went to Fort George, which is accounted the moſt regular fortification in the iſland. The major of artillery walked with us round the walls, and ſhewed us the principles upon which every part was conſtructed, and the way in which it could be defended. We dined with the governor Sir Eyre Coote and his officers. It was a very pleaſant and inſtructive day, but nothing puts my honoured miſtreſs out of my mind.

At night we came to Inverneſs, the laſt conſiderable town in the north, where we ſtaid all the next day, for it was Sunday, and ſaw the ruins of what is called Macbeth's caſtle. It never was a large houſe, but was ſtrongly ſituated. From Inverneſs we were to travel on horſeback.

Auguſt 30th, we ſet out with four horſes. We had two Highlanders to run by us, who were active,

officious,

officious, civil, and hardy. Our journey was for many miles along a military way made upon the banks of Lough Nefs, a water about eighteen miles long, but not I think half a mile broad. Our horfes were not bad, and the way was very pleafant; the rock out of which the road was cut was covered with birch trees, fern, and heath. The lake below was beating its bank by a gentle wind, and the rocks beyond the water on the right ftood fometimes horrid and wild, and fometimes opened into a kind of bay, in which there was a fpot of cultivated ground yellow with corn. In one part of the way we had trees on both fides for perhaps half a mile.—Such a length of fhade perhaps Scotland cannot fhew in any other place.

You are not to fuppofe that here are to be any more towns or inns. We came to a cottage which they call the general's hut, where we alighted to dine, and had eggs and bacon, and mutton, with wine, rum, and whifkey. I had water.

At a bridge over the river, which runs into the Nefs, the rocks rife on three fides, with a direction almoft perpendicular, to a great height; they are in part covered with trees, and exhibit a kind of dreadful magnificence;—ftanding like the barriers of nature placed to keep different orders of being in perpetual feparation. Near this bridge is the Fall of Fiers, a famous cataract, of which, by clambering over the rocks, we obtained a view. The water was low, and therefore we had only the pleafure of knowing that rain would make it at once pleafing and formidable; there will then be a mighty flood, foaming along a rocky channel, frequently obftructed by protuberances

tuberances and exafperated by reverberation, at laft precipitated with a fudden defcent, and loft in the depth of a gloomy chafm.

We came fomewhat late to Fort Auguftus, where the lieutenant governor met us beyond the gates, and apologifed that at that hour he could not, by the rules of a garrifon, admit us otherwife than at a narrow door which only one can enter at a time. We were well entertained and well lodged, and next morning, after having viewed the fort, we purfued our journey.

Our way now lay over the mountains, which are not to be paffed by climbing them directly, but by traverfing, fo that as we went forward we faw our baggage following us below in a direction exactly contrary. There is in thefe ways much labour but little danger, and perhaps other places of which very terrifick reprefentations are made are not in themfelves more formidable. Thefe roads have all been made by hewing the rock away with pickaxes, or burfting it with gunpowder. The ftones fo feparated are often piled loofe as a wall by the way-fide. We faw an infcription importing the year in which one of the regiments made two thoufand yards of the road eaftward.

After tedious travel of fome hours we came to what I believe we muft call a village, a place where there were three huts built of turf, at one of which we were to have our dinner and our bed, for we could not reach any better place that night. This place is called Enock in Glenmorrifon. The houfe in which we lodged was diftinguifhed by a chimney, the reft had only a hole for the fmoke. Here we had eggs, and

mutton,

mutton, and a chicken, and a ſauſage, and rum. In the afternoon tea was made by a very decent girl in a printed linen; ſhe engaged me ſo much, that I made her a preſent of Cocker's arithmetick. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXI. *To Mrs* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, Skie, Sept. 14, 1773.

THE poſt, which comes but once a week into theſe parts, is ſo ſoon to go that I have not time to go on where I left off in my laſt letter. I have been ſeveral days in the iſland of Raarſa, and am now again in the iſle of Skie, but at the other end of it.

Skie is almoſt equally divided between the two great families of Macdonald and Macleod, other proprietors having only ſmall diſtricts. The two great lords do not know within twenty ſquare miles the contents of their own territories.

——— kept up but ill the reputation of Highland hoſpitality; we are now with Macleod, quite at the other end of the iſland, where there is a fine young gentleman and fine ladies. The ladies are ſtudying Earſe. I have a cold, and am miſerably deaf, and am troubleſome to Lady Macleod; I force her to ſpeak loud, but ſhe will ſeldom ſpeak loud enough.

Raarſa is an iſland about fifteen miles long and two broad, under the dominion of one gentleman who has three ſons and ten daughters; the eldeſt is the beauty of this part of the world, and has been poliſhed at Edinburgh: they ſing and dance, and without expence have upon their table moſt of what

ſea,

ſea, air, or earth can afford. I intended to have written about Raarſa, but the poſt will not wait longer than while I ſend my compliments to my dear maſter and little miſtreſſes. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, Skie, Sept. 21, 1773.

I AM ſo vexed at the neceſſity of ſending yeſterday ſo ſhort a letter, that I purpoſe to get a long letter beforehand by writing ſomething every day, which I may the more eaſily do, as a cold makes me now too deaf to take the uſual pleaſure in converſation. Lady Macleod is very good to me, and the place at which we now are, is equal in ſtrength of ſituation, in the wildneſs of the adjacent country, and in the plenty and elegance of the domeſtick entertainment, to a caſtle in Gothick romances. The ſea with a little iſland is before us; caſcades play within view. Cloſe to the houſe is the formidable ſkeleton of an old Caſtle probably Daniſh, and the whole maſs of building ſtands upon a protuberance of rock, inacceſſible till of late but by a pair of ſtairs on the ſea ſide, and ſecure in ancient times againſt any enemy that was likely to invade the kingdom of ſkie.

Macleod has offered me an iſland; if it were not too far off I ſhould hardly refuſe it: my iſland would be pleaſanter than Brighthelmſtone, if you and my maſter could come to it; but I cannot think it pleaſant to live quite alone.

Oblituſque meorum, obliviſcendus et illis.

That

That I ſhould be elated by the dominion of an iſland to forgetfulneſs of my friends at Streatham I cannot believe, and I hope never to deſerve that they ſhould be willing to forget me.

It has happened that I have been often recogniſed in my journey where I did not expect it. At Aberdeen I found one of my acquaintance profeſſor of phyſick; turning aſide to dine with a country gentleman, I was owned at table by one who had ſeen me at a philoſophical lecture; at Macdonald's I was claimed by a naturaliſt, who wanders about the iſlands to pick up curioſities; and I had once in London attracted the notice of Lady Macleod. I will now go on with my account.

The Highland girl made tea, and looked and talked not inelegantly; her father was by no means an ignorant or a weak man; there were books in the cottage, among which were ſome volumes of Prideaux's Connection: this man's converſation we were glad of while we ſtaid. He had been *out*, as they call it, in forty-five, and ſtill retained his old opinions. He was going to America, becauſe his rent was raiſed beyond what he thought himſelf able to pay.

At night our beds were made, but we had ſome difficulty in perſuading ourſelves to lie down in them, though we had put on our own ſheets; at laſt we ventured, and I ſlept very ſoundly in the vale of Glenmorriſon, amidſt the rocks and mountains. Next morning our landlord liked us ſo well, that he walked ſome miles with us for our company, through a country ſo wild and barren that the proprietor does not, with all his preſſure upon his tenants, raiſe more than

than four hundred pounds a year for near one hundred ſquare miles, or ſixty thouſand acres. He let us know that he had forty head of black cattle, an hundred goats, and an hundred ſheep, upon a farm that he remembered let at five pounds a-year, but for which he now paid twenty. He told us ſome ſtories of their march into England. At laſt he left us, and we went forward, winding among mountains, ſometimes green and ſometimes naked, commonly ſo ſteep as not eaſily to be climbed by the greateſt vigour and activity: our way was often croſſed by little rivulets, and we were entertained with ſmall ſtreams trickling from the rocks, which after heavy rains muſt be tremendous torrents.

About noon we came to a ſmall glen, ſo they call a valley, which compared with other places appeared rich and fertile; here our guides deſired us to ſtop, that the horſes might graze, for the journey was very laborious, and no more graſs would be found. We made no difficulty of compliance, and I ſat down to take notes on a green bank, with a ſmall ſtream running at my feet, in the midſt of ſavage ſolitude, with mountains before me, and on either hand covered with heath. I looked around me, and wondered that I was not more affected, but the mind is not at all times equally ready to be put in motion; if my miſtreſs and maſter and Queeney had been there, we ſhould have produced ſome reflections among us, either poetical or philoſophical, for though *ſolitude be the nurſe of woe*, converſation is often the parent of remarks and diſcoveries.

In about an hour we remounted, and purſued our journey. The lake by which we had travelled for ſome

time

time ended in a river, which we paſſed by a bridge, and came to another glen, with a collection of huts, called Auknaſhealds; the huts were generally built of clods of earth, held together by the intertexture of vegetable fibres, of which earth there are great levels in Scotland, which they call moſſes. Moſs in Scotland is bog in Ireland, and moſs-trooper is bog-trotter; there was, however, one hut built of looſe ſtones, piled up with great thickneſs into a ſtrong though not ſolid wall. From this houſe we obtained ſome great pails of milk, and having brought bread with us, we were liberally regaled. The inhabitants, a very coarſe tribe, ignorant of any language but Earſe, gathered ſo faſt about us, that if we had not had Highlanders with us, they might have cauſed more alarm than pleaſure; they are called the Clan of Macrae.

We had been told that nothing gratified the Highlanders ſo much as ſnuff and tobacco, and had accordingly ſtored ourſelves with both at Fort Auguſtus. Boſwell opened his treaſure, and gave them each a piece of tobacco roll. We had more bread than we could eat for the preſent, and were more liberal than provident. Boſwell cut it in ſlices, and gave them an opportunity of taſting wheaten bread for the firſt time. I then got ſome halfpence for a ſhilling, and made up the deficiencies of Boſwell's diſtribution, who had given ſome money among the children. We then directed that the miſtreſs of the ſtone houſe ſhould be aſked what we muſt pay her: ſhe, who perhaps had never before ſold any thing but cattle, knew not, I believe, well what to aſk, and referred herſelf to us: we obliged her to make ſome demand,

and

and one of the Highlanders ſettled the account with her at a ſhilling. One of the men adviſed her, with the cunning that clowns never can be without, to aſk more; but ſhe ſaid that a ſhilling was enough. We gave her half a crown, and ſhe offered part of it again. The Macraes were ſo well pleaſed with our behaviour, that they declared it the beſt day they had ſeen ſince the time of the old Laird of Macleod, who, I ſuppoſe, like us, ſtopped in their valley, as he was travelling to Skie.

We were mentioning this view of the Highlander's life at Macdonald's, and mentioning the Macraes with ſome degree of pity, when a Highland lady informed us that we might ſpare our tenderneſs, for ſhe doubted not but the woman who ſupplied us with milk was miſtreſs of thirteen or fourteen milch cows.

I cannot forbear to interrupt my narrative. Boſwell, with ſome of his troubleſome kindneſs, has informed this family and reminded me that the 18th of September is my birth-day. The return of my birth-day, if I remember it, fills me with thoughts which it ſeems to be the general care of humanity to eſcape. I can now look back upon threeſcore and four years, in which little has been done, and little has been enjoyed; a life diverſified by miſery, ſpent part in the ſluggiſhneſs of penury, and part under the violence of pain, in gloomy diſcontent or importunate diſtreſs. But perhaps I am better than I ſhould have been if I had been leſs afflicted. With this I will try to be content.

In proportion as there is leſs pleaſure in retroſpective conſiderations, the mind is more diſpoſed to wander forward into futurity; but at ſixty-four what

promiſes,

promifes, however liberal, of imaginary good can futurity venture to make? yet fomething will be always promifed, and fome promifes will be always credited. I am hoping and I am praying that I may live better in the time to come, whether long or fhort, than I have yet lived, and in the folace of that hope endeavour to repofe. Dear Queeney's day is next, I hope fhe at fixty-four will have lefs to regret.

I will now complain no more, but tell my miftrefs of my travels.

After we left the Macraes we travelled on through a country like that which we paffed in the morning. The Highlands are very uniform, for there is little variety in univerfal barrennefs; the rocks, however, are not all naked, for fome have grafs on their fides, and birches and alders on their tops, and in the vallies are often broad and clear ftreams, which have little depth, and commonly run very quick; the channels are made by the violence of the wintry floods; the quicknefs of the ftream is in proportion to the declivity of the defcent, and the breadth of the channel makes the water fhallow in a dry feafon.

There are red deer and roebucks in the mountains, but we found only goats in the road, and had very little entertainment as we travelled either for the eye or ear. There are, I fancy, no finging birds in the Highlands.

Towards night we came to a very formidable hill called Rattiken, which we climbed with more difficulty than we had yet experienced, and at laft came to Glanelg, a place on the fea-fide oppofite to Skie. We were by this time weary and difgufted, nor was

our humour much mended by our inn, which, though it was built of lime and ſlate, the Highlander's deſcription of a houſe which he thinks magnificent, had neither wine, bread, eggs, nor any thing that we could eat or drink. When we were taken up ſtairs, a dirty fellow bounced out of the bed where one of us was to lie. Boſwell bluſtered, but nothing could be got. At laſt a gentleman in the neighbourhood, who heard of our arrival, ſent us rum and white ſugar. Boſwell was now provided for in part, and the landlord prepared ſome mutton chops, which we could not eat, and killed two hens, of which Boſwell made his ſervant broil a limb, with what effect I know not. We had a lemon and a piece of bread, which ſupplied me with my ſupper. When the repaſt was ended, we began to deliberate upon bed; Mrs. Boſwell had warned us that we ſhould *catch ſomething*, and had given us *ſheets* for our *ſecurity*, for ——— and ———, ſhe ſaid, came back from Skie, ſo ſcratching themſelves. I thought ſheets a ſlender defence againſt the confederacy with which we were threatened, and by this time our Highlanders had found a place where they could get ſome hay: I ordered hay to be laid thick upon the bed, and ſlept upon it in my great coat: Boſwell laid ſheets upon his bed, and repoſed in linen like a gentleman. The horſes were turned out to graſs, with a man to watch them. The hill Rattiken and the inn at Glanelg were the only things of which we, or travellers yet more delicate, could find any pretenſions to complain.

Sept. 2d, I roſe ruſtling from the hay, and went to tea, which I forget whether we found or brought.

We

We ſaw the iſle of Skie before us, darkening the horizon with its rocky coaſt. A boat was procured, and we launched into one of the ſtraits of the Atlantick ocean. We had a paſſage of about twelve miles to the point where ——— reſided, having come from his ſeat in the middle of the iſland to a ſmall houſe on the ſhore, as we believe, that he might with leſs reproach entertain us meanly. If he aſpired to meanneſs, his retrograde ambition was completely gratified, but he did not ſucceed equally in eſcaping reproach. He had no cook, nor I ſuppoſe much proviſion, nor had the Lady the common decencies of her tea-table: we picked up our ſugar with our fingers. Boſwell was very angry, and reproached him with his improper parſimony; I did not much reflect upon the conduct of a man with whom I was not likely to converſe as long at any other time.

You will now expect that I ſhould give you ſome account of the iſle of Skie, of which, though I have been twelve days upon it, I have little to ſay. It is an iſland perhaps fifty miles long, ſo much indented by inlets of the ſea that there is no part of it removed from the water more than ſix miles. No part that I have ſeen is plain; you are always climbing or deſcending, and every ſtep is upon rock or mire. A walk upon ploughed ground in England is a dance upon carpets compared to the toilſome drudgery of wandering in Skie. There is neither town nor village in the iſland, nor have I ſeen any houſe but Macleod's, that is not much below your habitation at Brighthelmſtone. In the mountains there are ſtags and roebucks, but no hares, and few rabbits; nor have I ſeen any thing that intereſted me as a

 zoologiſt,

zoologiſt, except an otter, bigger than I thought an otter could have been.

You are perhaps imagining that I am withdrawing from the gay and the buſy world into regions of peace and paſtoral felicity, and am enjoying the reliques of the golden age; that I am ſurveying nature's magnificence from a mountain, or remarking her minuter beauties on the flowery bank of a winding rivulet; that I am invigorating myſelf in the ſunſhine, or delighting my imagination with being hidden from the invaſion of human evils and human paſſions in the darkneſs of a thicket; that I am buſy in gathering ſhells and pebbles on the ſhore, or contemplative on a rock, from which I look upon the water, and conſider how many waves are rolling between me and Streatham.

The uſe of travelling is to regulate imagination by reality, and inſtead of thinking how things may be, to ſee them as they are. Here are mountains which I ſhould once have climbed, but to climb ſteeps is now very laborious, and to deſcend them dangerous; and I am now content with knowing, that by ſcrambling up a rock, I ſhall only ſee other rocks, and a wider circuit of barren deſolation. Of ſtreams, we have here a ſufficient number, but they murmur not upon pebbles, but upon rocks. Of flowers, if Chloris herſelf were here, I could preſent her only with the bloom of heath. Of lawns and thickets, he muſt read that would know them, for here is little ſun and no ſhade. On the ſea I look from my window, but am not much tempted to the ſhore; for ſince I came to this iſland, almoſt every breath of air has been a ſtorm, and what is worſe, a ſtorm with all its ſeverity, but

but without its magnificence, for the ſea is here ſo broken into channels that there is not a ſufficient volume of water either for lofty ſurges or a loud roar.

On Sept. 6th, we left ——— to viſit Raarſa, the iſland which I have already mentioned. We were to croſs part of Skie on horſeback; a mode of travelling very uncomfortable, for the road is ſo narrow, where any road can be found, that only one can go, and ſo craggy that the attention can never be remitted; it allows, therefore, neither the gaiety of converſation, nor the laxity of ſolitude: nor has it in itſelf the amuſement of much variety, as it affords only all the poſſible tranſpoſitions of bog, rock, and rivulet. Twelve miles, by computation, make a reaſonable journey for a day.

At night we came to a tenant's houſe, of the firſt rank of tenants, where we were entertained better than at the landlord's. There were books both Engliſh and Latin. Company gathered about us, and we heard ſome talk of the ſecond ſight, and ſome talk of the events of forty-five; a year which will not ſoon be forgotten among the iſlanders. The next day we were confined by a ſtorm. The company, I think, increaſed, and our entertainment was not only hoſpitable but elegant. At night, a miniſter's ſiſter, in very fine brocade, ſung Earſe ſongs; I wiſhed to know the meaning, but the Highlanders are not much uſed to ſcholaſtick queſtions, and no tranſlations could be obtained.

Next day, Sept. 8th, the weather allowed us to depart; a good boat was provided us, and we went to Raarſa under the conduct of Mr. Malcolm Macleod, a gentleman who conducted Prince Charles

through the mountains in his diſtreſſes. The Prince, he ſays, was more active than himſelf; they were, at leaſt, one night without any ſhelter.

The wind blew enough to give the boat a kind of dancing agitation, and in about three or four hours we arrived at Raarſa, where we were met by the Laird and his friends upon the ſhore. Raarſa, for ſuch is his title, is maſter of two iſlands; upon the ſmaller of which, called Rona, he has only flocks and herds. Rona gives title to his eldeſt ſon. The money which he raiſes annually by rent from all his dominions, which contain at leaſt fifty thouſand acres, is not believed to exceed two hundred and fifty pounds; but as he keeps a large farm in his own hands, he ſells every year great numbers of cattle, which add to his revenue, and his table is furniſhed from the farm and from the ſea with very little expence, except for thoſe things this country does not produce, and of thoſe he is very liberal. The wine circulates vigorouſly, and the tea, chocolate, and coffee, however they are got, are always at hand. I am, *&c.*

We are this morning trying to get out of Skie.

LETTER XXIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Skie, Sept. 24, 1773.

I AM ſtill in Skie. Do you remember the ſong?

> Every iſland is a priſon,
> Strongly guarded by the ſea,

We

We have at one time no boat, and at another may have too much wind; but of our reception here we have no reafon to complain. We are now with Colonel Macleod, in a more pleafant place than I thought Skie could afford. Now to the narrative.

We were received at Raarfa on the fea-fide, and after clambering with fome difficulty over the rocks, a labour which the traveller, wherever he repofes himfelf on land, muft in thefe iflands be contented to endure; we were introduced into the houfe, which one of the company called the Court of Raarfa, with politenefs which not the Court of Verfailles could have thought defective. The houfe is not large, though we were told in our paffage that it had eleven fine rooms, nor magnificently furnifhed, but our utenfils were moft commonly filver. We went up into a dining room, about as large as your blue room, where we had fomething given us to eat, and tea and coffee.

Raarfa himfelf is a man of no inelegant appearance, and of manners uncommonly refined. Lady Raarfa makes no very fublime appearance for a fovereign, but is a good houfewife, and a very prudent and diligent conductrefs of her family. Mifs Flora Macleod is a celebrated beauty; has been admired at Edinburgh; dreffes her head very high; and has manners fo lady like, that I wifh her head-drefs was lower. The reft of the nine girls are all pretty; the youngeft is between Queeney and Lucy. The youngeft boy, of four years old, runs barefoot, and wandered with us over the rocks to fee a mill. I believe he would walk on that rough ground without fhoes ten miles in a day.

The Laird of Raarſa has ſometimes diſputed the chieftainry of the clan with Macleod of Skie, but being much inferior in extent of poſſeſſions, has, I ſuppoſe, been forced to deſiſt. Raarſa and its provinces have deſcended to its preſent poſſeſſor through a ſucceſſion of four hundred years, without any increaſe or diminution. It was indeed lately in danger of forfeiture, but the old Laird joined ſome prudence with his zeal, and when Prince Charles landed in Scotland, made over his eſtate to his ſon, the preſent Laird, and led one hundred men of Raarſa into the field, with officers of his own family. Eighty-ſix only came back after the laſt battle. The Prince was hidden, in his diſtreſs, two nights at Raarſa, and the king's troops burnt the whole country, and killed ſome of the cattle.

You may gueſs at the opinions that prevail in this country; they are, however, content with fighting for their king; they do not drink for him. We had no fooliſh healths. At night, unexpectedly to us who were ſtrangers, the carpet was taken up; the fiddler of the family came up, and a very vigorous and general dance was begun. As I told you, we were two-and-thirty at ſupper; there were full as many dancers; for though all who ſupped did not dance, ſome danced of the young people who did not ſup. Raarſa himſelf danced with his children, and old Malcolm, in his filibeg, was as nimble as when he led the Prince over the mountains. When they had danced themſelves weary, two tables were ſpread, and I ſuppoſe at leaſt twenty diſhes were upon them. In this country ſome preparations of milk are always ſerved up at ſupper, and ſometimes in the place of

tarts at dinner. The table was not coarſely heaped, but at once plentiful and elegant. They do not pretend to make a loaf; there are only cakes, commonly of oats or barley, but they made me very nice cakes of wheat flour. I always ſat at the left hand of Lady Raarſa, and young Macleod of Skie, the chieftain of the clan, ſat on the right.

After ſupper a young lady, who was viſiting, ſung Earſe ſongs, in which Lady Raarſa joined prettily enough, but not gracefully; the young ladies ſuſtained the chorus better. They are very little uſed to be aſked queſtions, and not well prepared with anſwers. When one of the ſongs was over, I aſked the princeſs that ſat next me, *What is that about?* I queſtion if ſhe conceived that I did not underſtand it. For the entertainment of the company, ſaid ſhe. But, Madam, what is the meaning of it? It is a love ſong. This was all the intelligence that I could obtain; nor have I been able to procure the tranſlation of a ſingle line of Earſe.

At twelve it was bed time. I had a chamber to myſelf, which, in eleven rooms to forty people, was more than my ſhare. How the company and the family were diſtributed is not eaſy to tell. Macleod the chieftain, and Boſwell, and I, had all ſingle chambers on the firſt floor. There remained eight rooms only for at leaſt ſeven-and-thirty lodgers. I ſuppoſe they put up temporary beds in the dining-room, where they ſtowed all the young ladies. There was a room above ſtairs with ſix beds, in which they put ten men. The reſt in my next.

LETTER XXIV. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, Oſtich in Skie, Sept. 30, 1773.

I AM ſtill confined in Skie. We were unſkilful travellers, and imagined that the ſea was an open road which we could paſs at pleaſure; but we have now learned, with ſome pain, that we may ſtill wait for a long time the caprices of the equinoctial winds, and ſit reading or writing as I now do, while the tempeſt is rolling the ſea, or roaring in the mountains. I am now no longer pleaſed with the delay; you can hear from me but ſeldom, and I cannot at all hear from you. It comes into my mind that ſome evil may happen, or that I might be of uſe while I am away. But theſe thoughts are vain; the wind is violent and adverſe, and our boat cannot yet come. I muſt content myſelf with writing to you, and hoping that you will ſometime receive my letter. Now to my narrative.

Sept. 9th, Having paſſed the night as is uſual, I roſe, and found the dining-room full of company; we feaſted and talked, and when the evening came it brought muſick and dancing. Young Macleod, the great proprietor of Skie and head of his clan, was very diſtinguiſhable; a young man of nineteen; bred a while at St. Andrew's, and afterwards at Oxford, a pupil of G. Strahan. He is a young man of a mind as much advanced as I have ever known; very elegant of manners, and very graceful in his perſon. He has the full ſpirit of a feudal chief; and I was very ready to accept his invitation to Dunvegan. All

Raarſa's

Raarſa's children are beautiful. The ladies all, except the eldeſt, are in the morning dreſſed in their hair. The true Highlander never wears more than a riband on her head till ſhe is married.

On the third day Boſwell went out with old Malcolm to ſee a ruined caſtle, which he found leſs entire than was promiſed, but he ſaw the country. I did not go, for the caſtle was perhaps ten miles off, and there is no riding at Raarſa, the whole iſland being rock or mountain, from which the cattle often fall and are deſtroyed. It is very barren, and maintains, as near as I could collect, about ſeven hundred inhabitants, perhaps ten to a ſquare mile. In theſe countries you are not to ſuppoſe that you ſhall find villages or incloſures. The traveller wanders through a naked deſart, gratified ſometimes, but rarely, with the ſight of cows, and now and then finds a heap of looſe ſtones and turf in a cavity between rocks, where a being born with all thoſe powers which education expands, and all thoſe ſenſations which culture refines, is condemned to ſhelter itſelf from the wind and rain. Philoſophers there are who try to make themſelves believe that this life is happy, but they believe it only while they are ſaying it, and never yet produced conviction in a ſingle mind; he, whom want of words or images ſunk into ſilence, ſtill thought, as he thought before, that privation of pleaſure can never pleaſe, and that content is not to be much envied, when it has no other principle than ignorance of good.

This gloomy tranquillity, which ſome may call fortitude, and others wiſdom, was, I believe, for a long time to be very frequently found in theſe dens of

of poverty: every man was content to live like his neighbours, and never wandering from home, ſaw no mode of life preferable to his own, except at the houſe of the laird, or the laird's neareſt relations, whom he conſidered as a ſuperior order of beings, to whoſe luxuries or honours he had no pretenſions. But the end of this reverence and ſubmiſſion ſeems now approaching; the Highlanders have learned that there are countries leſs bleak and barren than their own, where, inſtead of working for the laird, every man may till his own ground, and eat the produce of his own labour. Great numbers have been induced by this diſcovery to go every year for ſome time paſt to America. Macdonald and Macleod of Skie have loſt many tenants and many labourers, but Raarſa has not yet been forſaken by a ſingle inhabitant.

Rona is yet more rocky and barren than Raarſa, and though it contains perhaps four thouſand acres, is poſſeſſed only by a herd of cattle and the keepers.

I find myſelf not very able to walk upon the mountains, but one day I went out to ſee the walls yet ſtanding of an ancient chapel. In almoſt every iſland the ſuperſtitious votaries of the Romiſh church erected places of worſhip, in which the drones of convents or cathedrals performed the holy offices, but by the active zeal of Proteſtant devotion, almoſt all of them have ſunk into ruin. The chapel at Raarſa is now only conſidered as the burying-place of the family, and I ſuppoſe of the whole iſland.

We would now have gone away and left room for others to enjoy the pleaſures of this little court, but the wind detained us till the 12th, when, though it was Sunday, we thought it proper to ſnatch the oppor-

opportunity of a calm day. Raarſa accompanied us in his ſix oared boat, which he ſaid was his coach and ſix. It is indeed the vehicle in which the ladies take the air and pay their viſits, but they have taken very little care for accommodations. There is no way in or out of the boat for a woman, but by being carried; and in the boat thus dignified with a pompous name, there is no ſeat but an occaſional bundle of ſtraw. Thus we left Raarſa; the ſeat of plenty, civility, and cheerfulneſs.

We dined at a publick houſe at Port Re; ſo called becauſe one of the Scottiſh kings landed there, in a progreſs through the weſtern iſles. Raarſa paid the reckoning privately. We then got on horſeback, and by a ſhort but very tedious journey came to Kingſburgh, at which the ſame king lodged after he landed. Here I had the honour of ſaluting the far famed Miſs Flora Macdonald, who conducted the Prince, dreſſed as her maid, through the Engliſh forces from the iſland of Lewes; and, when ſhe came to Skie, dined with the Engliſh officers, and left her maid below. She muſt then have been a very young lady; ſhe is now not old; of a pleaſing perſon, and elegant behaviour. She told me that ſhe thought herſelf honoured by my viſit; and I am ſure that whatever regard ſhe beſtowed on me was liberally repaid. "If thou likeſt her opinions, thou wilt "praiſe her virtue." She was carried to London, but diſmiſſed without a trial, and came down with Malcolm Macleod, againſt whom ſufficient evidence could not be procured. She and her huſband are poor, and are going to try their fortune in America.

Sic rerum volvitur orbis.

At

At Kingſburgh we were very liberally feaſted, and I ſlept in the bed in which the prince repoſed in his diſtreſs; the ſheets which he uſed were never put to any meaner offices, but were wrapped up by the lady of the houſe, and at laſt, according to her deſire, were laid round her in her grave. Theſe are not Whigs.

On the 13th, travelling partly on horſeback where we could not row, and partly on foot where we could not ride, we came to Dunvegan, which I have deſcribed already. Here, though poor Macleod had been left by his grandfather overwhelmed with debts, we had another exhibition of feudal hoſpitality. There were two ſtags in the houſe, and veniſon came to the table every day in its various forms. Macleod, beſides his eſtate in Skie, larger I ſuppoſe than ſome Engliſh counties, is proprietor of nine inhabited iſles; and of his iſlands uninhabited I doubt if he very exactly knows the number. I told him that he was a mighty monarch. Such dominions fill an Engliſhman with envious wonder; but when he ſurveys the naked mountain, and treads the quaking moor; and wanders over the wild regions of gloomy barrenneſs, his wonder may continue, but his envy ceaſes. The unprofitableneſs of theſe vaſt domains can be conceived only by the means of poſitive inſtances. The heir of *Col*, an iſland not far diſtant, has lately told me how wealthy he ſhould be if he could let *Rum*, another of his iſlands, for two-pence halfpenny an acre; and Macleod has an eſtate, which the ſurveyor reports to contain eighty thouſand acres, rented at ſix hundred pounds a-year.

While

While we were at Dunvegan, the wind was high, and the rain violent, ſo that we were not able to put forth a boat to fiſh in the ſea, or to viſit the adjacent iſlands, which may be ſeen from the houſe; but we filled up the time as we could, ſometimes by talk, ſometimes by reading. I have never wanted books in the iſle of Skie.

We were viſited one day by the Laird and Lady of Muck, one of the weſtern iſlands, two miles long and three quarters of a mile high. He has half his iſland in his own culture, and upon the other half live one hundred and fifty dependents, who not only live upon the product, but export corn ſufficient for the payment of their rent.

Lady Macleod has a ſon and four daughters; they have lived long in England, and have the language and manners of Engliſh ladies. We lived with them very eaſily. The hoſpitality of this remote region is like that of the golden age. We have found ourſelves treated at every houſe as if we came to confer a benefit.

We were eight days at Dunvegan, but we took the firſt opportunity which the weather afforded, after the firſt days, of going away, and, on the 21ſt, went to Uliniſh, where we were well entertained, and wandered a little after curioſities. In the afternoon an interval of calm ſunſhine courted us out to ſee a cave on the ſhore famous for its echo. When we went into the boat, one of our companions was aſked in Earſe, by the boatmen, who they were that came with him? He gave us characters, I ſuppoſe, to our advantage, and was aſked, in the ſpirit of the Highlands, whether I could recite a long ſeries of anceſtors?

tors? The boatmen ſaid, as I perceived afterwards, that they heard the cry of an Engliſh ghoſt. This, Boſwell ſays, diſturbed him. We came to the cave, and clambering up the rocks, came to an arch, open at one end, one hundred and eighty feet long, thirty broad in the broadeſt part, and about thirty high. There was no echo; ſuch is the fidelity of report; but I ſaw what I had never ſeen before, muſcles and whilks in their natural ſtate. There was another arch in the rock, open at both ends.

Sept. 23d, We removed to Taliſker, a houſe occupied by Mr. Macleod, a Lieutenant Colonel in the Dutch ſervice. Taliſker has been long in the poſſeſſion of gentlemen, and therefore has a garden well cultivated; and, what is here very rare, is ſhaded by trees: a place where the imagination is more amuſed cannot eaſily be found. The mountains about it are of great height, with waterfalls ſucceeding one another ſo faſt, that as one ceaſes to be heard another begins. Between the mountains there is a ſmall valley extending to the ſea, which is not far off, beating upon a coaſt very difficult of acceſs.

Two nights before our arrival two boats were driven upon this coaſt by the tempeſt, one of them had a pilot that knew the paſſage, the ſecond followed, but a third miſſed the true courſe, and was driven forward with great danger of being forced into the vaſt ocean, but however gained at laſt ſome other iſland. The crews crept to Taliſker, almoſt lifeleſs with wet, cold, fatigue, and terrour, but the lady took care of them. She is a woman of more than common qualifications; having travelled with her huſband, ſhe ſpeaks four languages.

You

You find that all the iſlanders, even in theſe receſſes of life, are not barbarous. One of the miniſters who has adhered to us almoſt all the time is an excellent ſcholar. We have now with us the young Laird of *Col*, who is heir, perhaps, to two hundred ſquare miles of land. He has firſt ſtudied at Aberdeen, and afterwards gone to Hertfordſhire to learn agriculture, being much impreſſed with deſire of improvement: he likewiſe has the notions of a chief, and keeps a piper. At Macleod's the bagpipe always played while we were dining.

Col has undertaken, by the permiſſion of the waves and wind, to carry us about ſeveral of the iſlands, with which he is acquainted enough to ſhew us whatever curious is given by nature or left by antiquity; but we grew afraid of deviating from our way home, leſt we ſhould be ſhut up for months upon ſome little protuberance of rock, that juſt appears above the ſea, and perhaps is ſcarcely marked upon a map.

You remember the Doge of Genoa, who being aſked what ſtruck him moſt at the French court? anſwered, "Myſelf." I cannot think many things here more likely to affect the fancy than to ſee Johnſon ending his ſixty-fourth year in the wilderneſs of the Hebrides. But now I am here, it will gratify me very little to return without ſeeing, or doing my beſt to ſee what thoſe places afford. I have a deſire to inſtruct myſelf in the whole ſyſtem of paſtoral life; but I know not whether I ſhall be able to perfect the idea. However I have many pictures in my mind, which I could not have had without this journey, and ſhould have paſſed it with great pleaſure had you, and Maſter, and Queeney been in the party. We

ſhould have excited the attention and enlarged the obſervation of each other, and obtained many pleaſing topicks of future converſation. As it is, I travel with my mind too much at home, and perhaps miſs many things worthy of obſervation, or paſs them with tranſient notice; ſo that the images, for want of that re-impreſſion which diſcuſſion and compariſon produce, eaſily fade away; but I keep a book of remarks, and Boſwell writes a regular journal of our travels, which, I think, contains as much of what I ſay and do as of all other occurrences together; "for ſuch a faithful chronicler as Griffith."

I hope, deareſt Madam, you are equally careful to repoſit proper memorials of all that happens to you and your family, and then when we meet we ſhall tell our ſtories. I wiſh you had gone this ſummer in your uſual ſplendour to Brighthelmſtone.

Mr. Thrale probably wonders how I live all this time without ſending to him for money. Travelling in Scotland is dear enough, dearer in proportion to what the country affords than in England, but reſidence in the iſles is unexpenſive. Company is, I think, conſidered as a ſupply of pleaſure, and a relief of that tedioufneſs of life which is felt in every place, elegant or rude. Of wine and punch they are very liberal, for they get them cheap; but as there is no cuſtom-houſe on the iſland, they can hardly be conſidered as ſmugglers. Their punch is made without lemons, or any ſubſtitute.

Their tables are very plentiful; but a very nice man would not be pampered. As they have no meat but as they kill it, they are obliged to live while it laſts upon the ſame fleſh. They kill a ſheep, and ſet mutton

mutton boiled and roaſt on the table together. They have fiſh both of the ſea and of the brooks; but they can hardly conceive that it requires any ſauce. To ſauce in general they are ſtrangers; now and then butter is melted, but I dare not always take, leſt I ſhould offend by diſliking it. Barley-broth is a conſtant diſh, and is made well in every houſe. A ſtranger, if he is prudent, will ſecure his ſhare, for it is not certain that he will be able to eat any thing elſe.

Their meat being often newly killed is very tough, and as nothing is ſufficiently ſubdued by the fire, is not eaſily to be eaten. Carving is here a very laborious employment, for the knives are never whetted. Table-knives are not of long ſubſiſtence in the Highlands; every man, while arms were a regular part of dreſs, had his knife and fork appendant to his dirk. Knives they now lay upon the table, but the handles are apt to ſhew that they have been in other hands, and the blades have neither brightneſs nor edge.

Of ſilver there is no want; and it will laſt long, for it is never cleaned. They are a nation juſt riſing from barbarity; long contented with neceſſaries, now ſomewhat ſtudious of convenience, but not yet arrived at delicate diſcriminations. Their linen is however both clean and fine. Bread, ſuch as we mean by that name, I have never ſeen in the iſle of Skie. They have ovens, for they bake their pies, but they never ferment their meal, nor mould a loaf. Cakes of oats and barley are brought to the table, but I believe wheat is reſerved for ſtrangers. They are commonly too hard for me, and therefore I take potatoes to my

 meat,

meat, and am ſure to find them on almoſt every table.

They retain ſo much of the paſtoral life, that ſome preparation of milk is commonly one of the diſhes both at dinner and ſupper. Tea is always drank at the uſual times; but in the morning the table is polluted with a plate of ſlices of ſtrong cheeſe. This is peculiar to the Highlands; at Edinburgh there are always honey and ſweet-meats on the morning tea-table.

Strong liquors they ſeem to love. Every man, perhaps woman, begins the day with a dram; and the punch is made both at dinner and ſupper.

They have neither wood nor coal for fuel, but burn peat or turf in their chimnies. It is dug out of the moors or moſſes, and makes a ſtrong and laſting fire, not always very ſweet, and ſomewhat apt to ſmoke the pot.

The houſes of inferior gentlemen are very ſmall, and every room ſerves many purpoſes. In the bed-rooms, perhaps, are laid up ſtores of different kinds; and the parlour of the day is a bed-room at night. In the room which I inhabited laſt, about fourteen feet ſquare, there were three cheſts of drawers, a long cheſt for larger clothes, two cloſet cupboards, and the bed. Their rooms are commonly dirty, of which they ſeem to have little ſenſibility, and if they had more, clean floors would be difficultly kept, where the firſt ſtep from the door is into the dirt. They are very much inclined to carpets, and ſeldom fail to lay down ſomething under their feet, better or worſe as they happen to be furniſhed.

The

The Highland drefs being forbidden by law, is very little ufed ; fometimes it may be feen, but the Englifh traveller is ftruck with nothing fo much as the *nudité des pies* of the common people.

Skie is the greateft ifland, or the greateft but one, among the Hebrides. Of the foil I have already given fome account, it is generally barren, but fome fpots are not wholly unfruitful. The gardens have apples and pears, cherries, ftrawberries, rafberries, currants, and goofeberries, but all the fruit that I have feen is fmall. They attempt to fow nothing but oats and barley. Oats conftitute the bread corn of the place. Their harveft is about the beginning of October ; and being fo late, is very much fubject to difappointments from the rains that follow the equinox. This year has been particularly difaftrous. Their rainy feafon lafts from Autumn to Spring. They have feldom very hard frofts ; nor was it ever known that a lake was covered with ice ftrong enough to bear a fkater. The fea round them is always open. The fnow falls, but foon melts ; only in 1771, they had a cold fpring, in which the ifland was fo long covered with it, that many beafts, both wild and domeftick, perifhed, and the whole country was reduced to diftrefs, from which I know not if it is even yet recovered.

The animals here are not remarkably fmall ; perhaps they recruit their breed from the main land. The cows are fometimes without horns. The horned and unhorned cattle are not accidental variations, but different fpecies, they will however breed together.

October 3d, The wind is now changed, and if we fnatch the moment of opportunity, an efcape from

this iſland is become practicable; I have no reaſon to complain of my reception, yet I long to be again at home.

You and my maſter may perhaps expect, after this deſcription of Skie, ſome account of myſelf. My eye is, I am afraid, not fully recovered; my ears are not mended; my nerves ſeem to grow weaker, and I have been otherwiſe not as well as I ſometimes am, but think myſelf lately better. This climate perhaps is not within my degree of healthy latitude.

Thus I have given my moſt honoured miſtreſs the ſtory of me and my little ramble. We are now going to ſome other iſle, to what we know not; the wind will tell us. I am, &c.

LETTER XXV. *To Mrs.* Thrale.

DEAR MADAM, Mull, Oct. 15, 1773.

THOUGH I have written to Mr. Thrale, yet having a little more time than was promiſed me, I would not ſuffer the meſſenger to go without ſome token of my duty to my miſtreſs, who, I ſuppoſe, expects the uſual tribute of intelligence, a tribute which I am not now very able to pay.

October 3d, After having been detained by ſtorms many days in Skie, we left it, as we thought with a fair wind; but a violent guſt, which Boſ. had a great mind to call a tempeſt, forced us into *Coll*, an obſcure iſland; on which

——nulla campis
Arbor æſtivâ recreatur aurâ.

There

There is literally no tree upon the iſland, part of it is a ſandy waſte, over which it would be really dangerous to travel in dry weather and with a high wind. It ſeems to be little more than one continued rock, covered from ſpace to ſpace with a thin layer of earth. It is, however, according to the Highland notion, very populous, and life is improved beyond the manners of Skie; for the huts are collected into little villages, and every one has a ſmall garden of roots and cabbage. The laird has a new houſe built by his uncle, and an old caſtle inhabited by his anceſtors. The young laird entertained us very liberally; he is heir, perhaps, to three hundred ſquare miles of land, which, at ten ſhillings an acre, would bring him ninety-ſix thouſand pounds a year. He is deſirous of improving the agriculture of his country; and, in imitation of the Czar, travelled for improvement, and worked with his own hands upon a farm in Hertfordſhire, in the neighbourhood of your uncle Sir Thomas Saluſbury. He talks of doing uſeful things, and has introduced turnips for winter fodder. He has made a ſmall eſſay towards a road.

Coll is but a barren place. Deſcription has here few opportunities of ſpreading her colours. The difference of day and night is the only viciſſitude. The ſucceſſion of ſunſhine to rain, or of calms to tempeſts, we have not known; wind and rain have been our only weather.

At laſt, after about nine days, we hired a ſloop; and having lain in it all night, with ſuch accomodations as theſe miſerable veſſels can afford, were landed yeſterday on the iſle of Mull; from which we

expect an easy passage into Scotland. I am sick in a ship, but recover by lying down.

I have not good health; I do not find that travelling much helps me. My nights are flatulent, though not in the utmost degree, and I have a weakness in my knees, which makes me very unable to walk.

Pray, dear Madam, let me have a long letter. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXVI. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

HONOURED MISTRESS, Inverary, Oct. 23, 1773.

MY last letters to you and my dear master were written from Mull, the third island of the Hebrides in extent. There is no post, and I took the opportunity of a gentleman's passage to the main land.

In Mull we were confined two days by the weather; on the third we got on horseback, and after a journey difficult and tedious, over rocks naked and valleys untracked, through a country of barrenness and solitude, we came, almost in the dark, to the sea-side, weary and dejected, having met with nothing but water falling from the mountains that could raise any image of delight. Our company was the young Laird of Col and his servant. Col made every Maclean open his house where we came, and supply us with horses when we departed; but the horses of this country are small, and I was not mounted to my wish.

At

At the sea-side we found the ferry-boat departed; if it had been where it was expected, the wind was against us, and the hour was late, nor was it very desirable to cross the sea in darkness with a small boat. The Captain of a sloop that had been driven thither by the storms, saw our distress, and as we were hesitating and deliberating, sent his boat, which, by Col's order, transported us to the isle of *Ulva*. We were introduced to Mr. Macquarry, the head of a small clan, whose ancestors have reigned in Ulva beyond memory, but who has reduced himself, by his negligence and folly, to the necessity of selling this venerable patrimony.

On the next morning we passed the strait to *Inch Kenneth*, an island about a mile in length, and less than half a mile broad; in which Kenneth a Scottish saint established a small clerical college, of which the chapel walls are still standing. At this place I beheld a scene which I wish you and my master and Queeney had partaken.

The only family on the island is that of Sir Allan, the chief of the ancient and numerous clan of Macclean; the clan which claims the second place, yielding only to Macdonald in the line of battle. Sir Allan, a chieftain, a baronet, and a soldier, inhabits in this insulated desart a thatched hut with no chambers. Young Col, who owns him as his chief, and whose cousin was his lady, had, I believe, given him some notice of our visit; he received us with the soldier's frankness and the gentleman's elegance, and introduced us to his daughters, two young ladies who have not wanted education suitable to their birth, and who, in their cottage, neither forgot their dignity,

nor affected to remember it. Do not you wiſh to have been with us?

Sir Allan's affairs are in diſorder by the fault of his anceſtors, and while he forms ſome ſcheme for retrieving them, he has retreated hither.

When our ſalutations were over, he ſhowed us the iſland. We walked uncovered into the chapel, and ſaw in the reverend ruin the effects of precipitate reformation. The floor is covered with ancient graveſtones, of which the inſcriptions are not now legible; and without, ſome of the chief families ſtill continue the right of ſepulture. The altar is not yet quite demoliſhed; beſide it, on the right ſide, is a bas relief of the Virgin with her child, and an angel hovering over her. On the other ſide ſtill ſtands a handbell, which, though it has no clapper, neither Preſbyterian bigotry nor barbarian wantonneſs has yet taken away. The chapel is thirty-eight feet long, and eighteen broad. Boſwell, who is very pious, went into it at night to perform his devotions, but came back in haſte, for fear of ſpectres. Near the chapel is a fountain, to which the water, remarkably pure, is conveyed from a diſtant hill, through pipes laid by the Romiſh clergy, which ſtill perform the office of conveyance, though they have never been repaired ſince Popery was ſuppreſſed.

We ſoon after went in to dinner, and wanted neither the comforts nor the elegancies of life. There were ſeveral diſhes, and variety of liquors. The ſervants live in another cottage; in which, I ſuppoſe, the meat is dreſſed.

Towards evening, Sir Allan told us, that Sunday never paſſed over him like another day. One of the

ladies

ladies read, and read very well, the evening ſervice; —and Paradiſe was opened in the wild.

Next day, 18th, we went and wandered among the rocks on the ſhore, while the boat was buſy in catching oyſters, of which there is a great bed. Oyſters lie upon the ſand, one I think ſticking to another, and cockles are found a few inches under the ſand.

We then went in the boat to *Sondiland*, a little iſland very near. We found it a wild rock, of about ten acres; part naked, part covered with ſand, out of which we picked ſhells; and part clothed with a thin layer of mould, on the graſs of which a few ſheep are ſometimes fed. We then came back and dined. I paſſed part of the afternoon in reading, and in the evening one of the ladies played on her harpſichord, and Boſwell and Col danced a reel with the other.

On the 19th, we perſuaded Sir Allan to launch his boat again, and go with us to Icolmkill, where the firſt great preacher of Chriſtianity to the Scots built a church and ſettled a monaſtery. In our way we ſtopped to examine a very uncommon cave on the coaſt of *Mull*. We had ſome difficulty to make our way over the vaſt maſſes of broken rocks that lie before the entrance, and at the mouth were embarraſſed with ſtones, which the ſea had accumulated, as at Brighthelmſtone; but as we advanced, we reached a floor of ſoft ſand, and as we left the light behind us, walked along a very ſpacious cavity, vaulted over head with an arch almoſt regular, by which a mountain was ſuſtained, at leaſt a very lofty rock. From this magnificent cavern went a narrow paſſage to the right hand, which we entered with a candle, and though it was obſtructed with great ſtones, clambered

over them to a ſecond expanſion of the cave, in which there lies a great ſquare ſtone, which might ſerve as a table. The air here was very warm, but not oppreſſive, and the flame of the candle continued pyramidal. The cave goes onward to an unknown extent, but we were now one hundred and ſixty yards under ground; we had but one candle, and had never heard of any that went further and came back; we therefore thought it prudent to return.

Going forward in our boat, we came to a cluſter of rocks, black and horrid, which Sir Allan choſe for the place where he would eat his dinner. We climbed till we got ſeats. The ſtores were opened, and the repaſt taken.

We then entered the boat again; the night came upon us; the wind roſe; the ſea ſwelled; and Boſwell deſired to be ſet on dry ground: we however purſued our navigation, and paſſed by ſeveral little iſlands in the ſilent ſolemnity of faint moon-ſhine, ſeeing little, and hearing only the wind and the water. At laſt we reached the iſland; the venerable ſeat of ancient ſanctity; where ſecret piety repoſed, and where fallen greatneſs was repoſited. The iſland has no houſe of entertainment, and we manfully made our bed in a farmer's barn. The deſcription I hope to give you another time. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXVII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, Edinburgh, Nov. 12, 1773.

AMONG the poſſibilities of evil which my imagination ſuggeſted at this diſtance, I miſſed that

which

which has really happened. I never had much hope of a will in your favour, but was willing to believe that no will would have been made. The event is now irrevocable, it remains only to bear it. Not to wish it had been different is impossible; but as the wish is painful without use, it is not prudent, perhaps not lawful, to indulge it. As life, and vigour of mind, and sprightliness of imagination, and flexibility of attention, are given us for valuable and useful purposes, we must not think ourselves at liberty to squander life, to enervate intellectual strength, to cloud our thoughts, or fix our attention, when by all this expence we know that no good can be produced. Be alone as little as you can; when you are alone, do not suffer your thoughts to dwell on what you might have done, to prevent this disappointment. You perhaps could not have done what you imagine, or might have done it without effect. But even to think in the most reasonable manner, is for the present not so useful as not to think. Remit yourself solemnly into the hands of God, and then turn your mind upon the business and amusements which lie before you. "All is best," says Chene, "as it has "been, excepting the errours of our own free will." Burton concludes his long book upon melancholy with this important precept, "Be not solitary; be "not idle." Remember Chene's position and observe Burton's precept.

We came hither on the ninth of this month. I long to come under your care, but for some days cannot decently get away. They congratulate our return as if we had been with Phipps or Banks; I am ashamed of their salutations.

I have

I have been able to collect very little for Queeney's cabinet; but ſhe will not want toys now, ſhe is ſo well employed. I wiſh her ſucceſs; and am not without ſome thought of becoming her ſchool-fellow. I have got an Italian Raſſelas.

Surely my dear Lucy will recover; I wiſh I could do her good. I love her very much; and ſhould love another godchild, if I might have the honour of ſtanding to the next baby. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXVIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

MY DEAREST MISTRESS, Edinburgh, Nov. 18, 1773.

THIS is the laſt letter that I ſhall write; while you are reading it, I ſhall be coming home.

I congratulate you upon your boy; but you muſt not think that I will love him all at once as well as I love Harry, for Harry you know is ſo rational. I ſhall love him by degrees.

Poor, pretty, dear Lucy! Can nothing do her good? I am ſorry to loſe her. But if ſhe muſt be taken from us, let us reſign her with confidence into the hands of Him who knows, and who only knows, what is beſt both for us and her.

Do not ſuffer yourſelf to be dejected. Reſolution and diligence will ſupply all that is wanting, and all that is loſt. But if your health ſhould be impaired, I know not where to find a ſubſtitute. I ſhall have no miſtreſs; Mr. Thrale will have no wife; and the little flock will have no mother.

I long to be home, and have taken a place in the coach for Monday; I hope therefore to be in Lon-

don on Friday the 26th, in the evening. Pleaſe to let Mrs. Williams know. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXIX. *To the Same.*

DEAR MADAM, Litchfield, June 23, 1775.

NOW I hope you are thinking, ſhall I have a letter to-day from Litchfield? Something of a letter you will have; how elſe can I expect that you ſhould write? and the morning on which I ſhould miſs a letter would be a morning of uneaſineſs, notwithſtanding all that would be ſaid or done by the ſiſters of Stowhill, who do and ſay whatever good they can. They give me good words, and cherries, and ſtrawberries. Lady * * * * and her mother and ſiſter were viſiting there yeſterday, and Lady * * * * took her tea before her mother.

Mrs. Cobb is to come to Miſs Porter's this afternoon. Miſs A—— comes little near me. Mr. Langley of Aſhbourne was here to-day, in his way to Birmingham, and every body talks of you.

The ladies of the Amicable Society are to walk, in a few days, from the town-hall to the cathedral in proceſſion to hear a ſermon. They walk in linen gowns, and each has a ſtick with an acorn, but for the acorn they could give no reaſon, till I told them of the civick crown.

I have juſt had your ſweet letter, and am glad that you are to be at the regatta. You know how little I love to have you left out of any ſhining part of life. You have every right to diſtinction, and ſhould therefore be diſtinguiſhed. You will ſee a ſhow with philoſophick

losophick superiority, and therefore may see it safely. It is easy to talk of sitting at home contented, when others are seeing or making shows. But not to have been where it is supposed, and seldom supposed falsely, that all would go if they could: to be able to say nothing when every one is talking; to have no opinion when every one is judging; to hear exclamations of rapture, without power to depress; to listen to falsehoods without right to contradict, is, after all, a state of temporary inferiority, in which the mind is rather hardened by stubbornness, than supported by fortitude. If the world be worth winning, let us enjoy it; if it is to be despised, let us despise it by conviction. But the world is not to be despised but as it is compared with something better. Company is in itself better than solitude, and pleasure better than indolence. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, says the moral as well as the natural philosopher. By doing nothing and by knowing nothing no power of doing good can be obtained. He must mingle with the world that desires to be useful. Every new scene impresses new ideas, enriches the imagination, and enlarges the power of reason, by new topicks of comparison. You that have seen the regatta will have images which we who miss it must want, and no intellectual images are without use. But when you are in this scene of splendour and gaiety, do not let one of your fits of negligence steal upon you. *Hoc age*, is the great rule, whether you are serious or merry; whether you are stating the expences of your family, learning science or duty from a folio, or floating on the Thames in a fancied dress. Of the whole entertainment let me not hear so copi-

ous

ous nor fo true an account from any body as from you, I am, deareft Madam, your, &c.

LETTER XXX. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Afhbourne.

I AM fure I write and write, and every letter that comes from you charges me with not writing. Since I wrote to Queeney I have written twice to you, on the 6th and the 9th, be pleafed to let me know whether you have them or have them not. That of the 6th you fhould regularly have had on the 8th, yet your letter of the 9th feems not to mention it; all this puzzles me.

Poor dear * * * *! He only grows dull becaufe he is fickly; age has not yet begun to impair him; nor is he fuch a chameleon as to take immediately the colour of his company. When you fee him again, you will find him reanimated. Moft men have their bright and their cloudy days, at leaft they have days when they put their powers into action, and days when they fuffer them to repofe.

Fourteen thoufand pounds make a fum fufficient for the eftablifhment of a family, and which, in whatever flow of riches or confidence of profperity, deferves to be very ferioufly confidered. I hope a great part of it has paid debts, and no fmall part bought land. As for gravelling and walling and digging, though I am not much delighted with them, yet fomething, indeed much, muft be allowed to every man's tafte. He that is growing rich has a right to

 enjoy

enjoy part of the growth his own way. I hope to range in the walk, and row upon the water, and devour fruit from the wall.

Dr. Taylor wants to be gardening. He means to buy a piece of ground in the neighbourhood, and ſurround it with a wall, and build a gardener's houſe upon it, and have fruit, and be happy. Much happineſs it will not bring him; but what can he do better? If I had money enough, what would I do? Perhaps, if you and maſter did not hold me, I might go to Cairo, and down the Red Sea to Bengal, and take a ramble in India. Would this be better than building and planting? It would ſurely give more variety to the eye, and more amplitude to the mind. Half fourteen thouſand would ſend me out to ſee other forms of exiſtence, and bring me back to deſcribe them.

I anſwer this the day on which I had yours of the 9th, that is on the 11th. Let me know when it comes. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXXI. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

MADAM, Lichfield, Auguſt 2, 1775.

I DINED to-day at Stowhill, and am come away to write my letter. Never ſurely was I ſuch a writer before. Do you keep my letters? I am not of your opinion that I ſhall not like to read them hereafter; for though there is in them not much hiſtory of mind, or any thing elſe, they will, I hope, always be in ſome degree the records of a pure and

blameleſs

blameleſs friendſhip, and in ſome hours of languor and ſadneſs may revive the memory of more cheerful times.

Why you ſhould ſuppoſe yourſelf not deſirous hereafter to read the hiſtory of your own mind, I do not ſee. Twelve years, on which you now look as on a vaſt expanſe of life, will probably be paſſed over uniformly and ſmoothly, with very little perception of your progreſs, and with very few remarks upon the way. That accumulation of knowledge which you promiſe to yourſelf, by which the future is to look back upon the preſent, with the ſuperiority of manhood to infancy, will perhaps never be attempted, or never will be made; and you will find, as millions have found before you, that forty-five has made little ſenſible addition to thirty-three.

As the body after a certain time gains no increaſe of height, and little of ſtrength, there is likewiſe a period, though more variable by external cauſes, when the mind commonly attains its ſtationary point, and very little advances its powers of reflection, judgment, and ratiocination. The body may acquire new modes of motion, or new dexterities of mechanick operations, but its original ſtrength receives not improvement; the mind may be ſtored with new languages, or new ſciences, but its power of thinking remains nearly the ſame, and unleſs it attains new ſubjects of meditation, it commonly produces thoughts of the ſame force and the ſame extent, at very diſtant intervals of life, as the tree, unleſs a foreign fruit be ingrafted, gives year after year productions of the ſame form and the ſame flavour.

By intellectual force or ſtrength of thought is meant the degree of power which the mind poſſeſſes of ſurveying the ſubject of meditation, with its circuit of concomitants, and its train of dependence.

Of this power, which all obſerve to be very different in different minds, part ſeems the gift of nature, and part the acquiſition of experience. When the powers of nature have attained their intended energy, they can be no more advanced. The ſhrub can never become a tree. And it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that they are before the middle of life in their full vigour.

Nothing then remains but practice and experience; and perhaps why they do ſo little, may be worth enquiry.

But I have juſt now looked, and find it ſo late, that I will enquire againſt the next poſt night. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXXII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Lichfield, Auguſt 5, 1775.

INSTEAD of forty reaſons for my return, one is ſufficient,—that you wiſh for my company. I purpoſe to write no more till you ſee me. The ladies at Stowhill and Greenhill, are unanimouſly of opinion, that it will be beſt to take a poſtchaiſe, and not to be troubled with the vexations of a common carriage. I will venture to ſuppoſe the ladies at Streatham to be of the ſame mind.

You

You will now expect to be told why you will not be fo much wifer as you expect, when you have lived twelve years longer.

It is faid, and faid truly, that experience is the beft teacher; and it is fuppofed, that as life is lengthened experience is encreafed. But a clofer infpection of human life will difcover that time often paffes without any incident which can much enlarge knowledge or ratify judgment. When we are young we learn much, becaufe we are univerfally ignorant; we obferve every thing, becaufe every thing is new. But after fome years, the occurrences of daily life are exhaufted; one day paffes like another, in the fame fcene of appearances, in the fame courfe of tranfactions; we have to do what we have often done, and what we do not try, becaufe we do not wifh to do much better; we are told what we already know, and therefore what repetition cannot make us know with greater certainty.

He that has early learned much, perhaps feldom makes, with regard to life and manners, much addition to his knowledge; not only becaufe as more is known there is lefs to learn, but becaufe a mind ftored with images and principles turns inwards for its own entertainment, and is employed in fettling thofe ideas which run into confufion, and in recollecting thofe which are ftealing away; practices by which wifdom may be kept but not gained. The merchant who was at firft bufy in acquiring money, ceafes to grow richer, from the time when he makes it his bufinefs only to count it.

Thofe who have families or employments are engaged in bufinefs of little difficulty, but of great im-

 portance,

portance, requiring rather aſſiduity of practice than ſubtilty of ſpeculation, occupying the attention with images too bulky for refinement, and too obvious for reſearch. The right is already known, what remains is only to follow it. Daily buſineſs adds no more to wiſdom, than daily leſſon to the learning of the teacher. But of how few lives does not ſtated duty claim the greater part?

Far the greater part of human minds never endeavour their own improvement. Opinions once received from inſtruction, or ſettled by whatever accident, are ſeldom recalled to examination; having been once ſuppoſed to be right, they are never diſcovered to be erroneous, for no application is made of any thing that time may preſent, either to ſhake or to confirm them. From this acquieſcence in preconceptions none are wholly free; between fear of uncertainty, and diſlike of labour, every one reſts while he might yet go forward; and they that were wiſe at thirty-three, are very little wiſer at forty-five.

Of this ſpeculation you are perhaps tired, and would rather hear of Sophy. I hope before this comes, that her head will be eaſier, and your head leſs filled with fears and troubles, which you know are to be indulged only to prevent evil, not to encreaſe it.

Your uneaſineſs about Sophy is probably unneceſſary, and at worſt your other children are healthful, and your affairs proſperous. Unmingled good cannot be expected; but as we may lawfully gather all the good within our reach, we may be allowed to lament after that which we loſe. I hope your loſſes

are at an end, and that as far as the condition of our present existence permits, your remaining life will be happy. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXXIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM. Lichfield, March 25, 1776.

THIS letter will not, I hope, reach you many days before me; in a distress which can be so little relieved, nothing remains for a friend but to come and partake it.

Poor dear sweet little boy! When I read the letter this day to Mrs. Aston, she said, "Such a death "is the next to translation." Yet however I may convince myself of this, the tears are in my eyes, and yet I could not love him as you loved him, nor reckon upon him for a future comfort as you and his father reckoned upon him.

He is gone, and we are going! We could not have enjoyed him long, and shall not long be separated from him. He has probably escaped many such pangs as you are now feeling.

Nothing remains, but that with humble confidence we resign ourselves to Almighty Goodness, and fall down, without irreverent murmurs, before the Sovereign Distributer of good and evil, with hope that though sorrow endureth for a night yet joy may come in the morning.

I have known you, Madam, too long to think that you want any arguments for submission to the Supreme Will; nor can my consolation have any effect but that of shewing that I wish to comfort you.

What can be done you muſt do for yourſelf. Remember firſt, that your child is happy; and then, that he is ſafe, not only from the ills of this world, but from thoſe more formidable dangers which extend their miſchief to eternity. You have brought into the world a rational being; have ſeen him happy during the little life that has been granted him; and can have no doubt but that his happineſs is now permanent and immutable.

When you have obtained by prayer ſuch tranquillity as nature will admit, force your attention, as you can upon your accuſtomed duties and accuſtomed entertainments. You can do no more for our dear boy, but you muſt not therefore think leſs on thoſe whom your attention may make fitter for the place to which he is gone. I am, deareſt, deareſt Madam, your moſt affectionate humble ſervant.

LETTER XXXIV. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST LADY, Sept. 6, 1777.

IT is true that I have loitered, and what is worſe, loitered with very little pleaſure. The time has run away, as moſt time runs, without account, without uſe, and without memorial. But to ſay this of a few weeks, though not pleaſing, might be borne, but what ought to be the regret of him who, in a few days, will have ſo nearly the ſame to ſay of ſixty-eight years? But complaint is vain.

If you have nothing to ſay from the neighbourhood of the metropolis, what can occur to me in little cities and petty towns; in places which we have both ſeen,

ſeen, and of which no deſcription is wanted? I have left part of the company with which you dined here, to come and write this letter; in which I have nothing to tell, but that my nights are very tedious. I cannot perſuade myſelf to forbear trying ſomething.

As you have now little to do, I ſuppoſe you are pretty diligent at the Thraliana, and a very curious collection poſterity will find it. Do not remit the practice of writing down occurrences as they ariſe, of whatever kind, and be very punctual in annexing the dates. Chronology you know is the eye of hiſtory; and every man's life is of importance to himſelf. Do not omit painful caſualties, or unpleaſing paſſages, they make the variegation of exiſtence; and there are many tranſactions, of which I will not promiſe with Æneas, *et hæc olim meminiſſe juvabit.* Yet that remembrance which is not pleaſant may be uſeful. There is however an intemperate attention to ſlight circumſtances which is to be avoided, leſt a great part of life be ſpent in writing the hiſtory of the reſt. Every day perhaps has ſomething to be noted, but in a ſettled and uniform courſe few days can have much.

Why do I write all this, which I had no thought of when I begun? The Thraliana drove it all into my head. It deſerves however an hour's reflection, to conſider how, with the leaſt loſs of time, the loſs of what we wiſh to retain may be prevented.

Do not neglect to write to me, for when a poſt comes empty, I am really diſappointed.

Boſwell, I believe, will meet me here. I am, deareſt Lady, your, *&c.*

LETTER XXXV. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Lichfield, October 3, 1777.

THIS is the laſt time that I ſhall write, in this excurſion, from this place. To-morrow I ſhall be, I hope, at Birmingham; from which place I ſhall do my beſt to find the neareſt way home. I come home, I think, worſe than I went; and do not like the ſtate of my health. But, *vive hodie*, make the moſt of life. I hope to get better, and—ſweep the cobwebs. But I have ſad nights. Mrs. Aſton has ſent me to Mr. Green to be cured.

Did you ſee Foote at Brighthelmſtone?—Did you think he would ſo ſoon be gone?—Life, ſays Falſtaff, is a ſhuttle. He was a fine fellow in his way; and the world is really impoveriſhed by his ſinking glories. Murphy ought to write his life, at leaſt to give the world a Footeana. Now, will any of his contemporaries bewail him? Will genius change *his ſex* to weep? I would really have his life written with diligence.

It will be proper for me to work pretty diligently now for ſome time. I hope to get through, though ſo many weeks have paſſed. Little lives and little criticiſms may ſerve.

Having been in the country ſo long, with very little to detain me, I am rather glad to look homewards. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXXVI. *To the Same.*

DEAR MADAM, October 10, 1777.

AND so, supposing that I might come to town and neglect to give you notice, or thinking some other strange thought, but certainly thinking wrong, you fall to writing about me to Tom Davies, as if he could tell you any thing that I would not have you know. As soon as I came hither, I let you know of my arrival; and the consequence is, that I am summoned to Brighthelmstone through storms, and cold, and dirt, and all the hardships of wintry journies. You know my natural dread of all those evils; yet to shew my master an example of compliance, and to let you know how much I long to see you, and to boast how little I give way to disease, my purpose is to be with you on Friday.

I am sorry for poor Nezzy, and hope she will in time be better; I hope the same for myself. The rejuvenescency of Mr. Scrase gives us both reason to hope, and therefore both of us rejoice in his recovery. I wish him well besides as a friend to my master.

I am just come home from not seeing my Lord Mayor's shew, but I might have seen at least part of it. But I saw Miss Wesley and her brothers; she sends her compliments. Mrs. Williams is come home, I think a very little better.

Every body was an enemy to that wig.—We will burn it, and get drunk; for what is joy without drink. Wagers are laid in the city about our success, which is yet, as the French call it, problematical. Well,

but

but seriously I think I shall be glad to see you in your own hair; but do not take too much time in combing, and twisting, and papering, and unpapering, and curling, and frizzing, and powdering, and getting out the powder, with all the other operations required in the cultivation of a head of hair; yet let it be combed at least once in three months, on the quarter-day—I could wish it might be combed once at least in six weeks; if I were to indulge my wishes, but what are wishes without hopes, I should fancy the operation performed—one knows not when one has enough—perhaps every morning. I am, dearest Lady, your, *&c.*

LETTER XXXVII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, October 13, 1777.

YET I do love to hear from you. Such pretty kind letters as you send. But it gives me great delight to find that my master misses me. I begin to wish myself with you more than I should do, if I were wanted less. It is a good thing to stay away till one's company is desired, but not so good to stay after it is desired.

You know I have some work to do. I did not set to it very soon; and if I should go up to London with nothing done, what would be said, but that I was——who can tell what? I therefore stay till I can bring up something to stop their mouths, and then——

Though I am still at Ashbourne, I receive your dear letters that come to Lichfield, and you continue that

that direction, for I think to get thither as ſoon as I can.

One of the does died yeſterday, and I am afraid her fawn will be ſtarved; I wiſh Miſs Thrale had it to nurſe; but the doctor is now all for cattle, and minds very little either does or hens.

How did you and your aunt part? Did you turn her out of doors to begin your journey? or did ſhe leave you by her uſual ſhortneſs of viſits? I love to know how you go on.

I cannot but think on your kindneſs and my maſter's. Life has, upon the whole, fallen ſhort, very ſhort, of my early expectation; but the acquiſition of ſuch a friendſhip, at an age when new friendſhips are ſeldom acquired, is ſomething better than the general courſe of things gives man a right to expect. I think on it with great delight; I am not very apt to be delighted. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXXVIII. *To the Same.*

DEAR MADAM, Lichfield, October 27, 1777.

YOU talk of writing and writing, as if you had all the writing to yourſelf. If our correſpondence were printed, I am ſure poſterity, for poſterity is always the author's favourite, would ſay that I am a good writer too.—*Anch'io ſono pittore.* To ſit down ſo often with nothing to ſay; to ſay ſomething ſo often, almoſt without conſciouſneſs of ſaying, and without any remembrance of having ſaid, is a power of which I will not violate my modeſty by boaſting, but I do not believe that every body has it.

Some,

Some, when they write to their friends, are all affection; some are wise and sententious; some strain their powers for efforts of gaiety; some write news, and some write secrets; but to make a letter without affection, without wisdom, without gaiety, without news, and without a secret, is, doubtless, the great epistolick art.

In a man's letters, you know, Madam, his soul lies naked, his letters are only the mirrour of his breast; whatever passes within him is shown undisguised in its natural process; nothing is inverted, nothing distorted; you see systems in their elements; you discover actions in their motives.

Of this great truth, sounded by the knowing to the ignorant, and so echoed by the ignorant to the knowing, what evidence have you now before you? Is not my soul laid open in these veracious pages? Do not you see me reduced to my first principles? This is the pleasure of corresponding with a friend, where doubt and distrust have no place, and every thing is said as it is thought. The original idea is laid down in its simple purity, and all the supervenient conceptions are spread over it, *stratum super stratum*, as they happen to be formed. These are the letters by which souls are united, and by which minds naturally in unison move each other as they are moved themselves. I know, dearest Lady, that in the perusal of this, such is the consanguinity of our intellects, you will be touched as I am touched. I have indeed concealed nothing from you, nor do I expect ever to repent of having thus opened my heart. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XXXIX. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Aſhbourne, June 14, 1779.

YOUR account of Mr. Thrale's illneſs is very terrible; but when I remember that he ſeems to have it peculiar to his conſtitution, that whatever diſtemper he has, he always has his head affected, I am leſs frighted. The ſeizure was, I think, not apoplectical, but hyſterical, and therefore not dangerous to life. I would have you however conſult ſuch phyſicians as you think you can beſt truſt. Bromfield ſeems to have done well, and by his practice appears not to ſuſpect an apoplexy. That is a ſolid and fundamental comfort. I remember Dr. Marſigli, an Italian phyſician, whoſe ſeizure was more violent than Mr. Thrale's, for he fell down helpleſs, but his caſe was not conſidered as of much danger, and he went ſafe home, and is now a profeſſor at Padua. His fit was conſidered as only hyſterical.

I hope Sir Philip, who franked your letter, comforts you as well as Mr. Seward. If I can comfort you, I will come to you, but I hope you are now no longer in want of any help to be happy. I am, &c.

The Doctor ſends his compliments; he is one of the people that are growing old.

LETTER XL. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, Afhbourne, June 14, 1779.

HOW near we all are to extreme danger. We are merry or fad, or bufy or idle, and forget that death is hovering over us. You are a dear Lady for writing again. The cafe, as you now defcribe it, is worfe than I conceived it when I read your firft letter. It is ftill however not apoplectick, but feems to have fomething worfe than hyfterical, a tendency to a palfy, which I hope however is now over. I am glad that you have Heberden, and hope we are all fafer. I am the more alarmed by this violent feizure, as I can impute it to no wrong practices, or intemperance of any kind, and therefore know not how any defence or prefervative can be obtained. Mr. Thrale has certainly lefs exercife than when he followed the foxes, but he is very far from unwieldinefs or inactivity, and further ftill from any vicious or dangerous excefs. I fancy, however, he will do well to ride more.

Do, dear Madam, let me know every poft how he goes on. Such fudden violence is very dreadful; we know not by what it is let loofe upon us, nor by what its effects are limited.

If my coming can either affift or divert, or be ufeful to any purpofe, let me but know. I will foon be with you.

Mrs Kennedy, Queeney's Baucis, ended laft week a long life of difeafe and poverty. She had been married about fifty years.

Dr. Taylor is not much amifs, but always complaining. I am, &c.

LETTER XLI. *To Mr.* THRALE.

DEAR SIR, Lichfield, June 23, 1779.

TO ſhew you how well I think of your health, I have ſent you a hundred pounds to keep for me. It will come within one day of quarter day, and that day you muſt give me. I came by it in a very uncommon manner, and would not confound it with the reſt.

My wicked miſtreſs talks as if ſhe thought it poſſible for me to be indifferent or negligent about your health or hers. If I could have done any good, I had not delayed an hour to come to you, and I will come very ſoon to try if my advice can be of any uſe, or my company of any entertainment.

What can be done you muſt do for yourſelf; do not let any uneaſy thought ſettle in your mind. Cheerfulneſs and exerciſe are your great remedies. Nothing is for the preſent worth your anxiety. *Vivite læti* is one of the great rules of health. I believe it will be good to ride often, but never to wearineſs, for wearineſs is itſelf a temporary reſolution of the nerves, and is therefore to be avoided. Labour is exerciſe continued to fatigue—exerciſe is labour uſed only while it produces pleaſure.

Above all, keep your mind quiet, do not think with earneſtneſs even of your health, but think on ſuch things as may pleaſe without too much agitation; among which I hope is, dear Sir, your, *&c.*

LETTER XLII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM,

ON Sunday I dined with poor Lawrence, who is deafer than ever. When he was told that Dr. Moiſy viſited Mr. Thrale, he enquired for what? and ſaid there was nothing to be done, which Nature would not do for herſelf. On Sunday evening I was at Mrs. Veſey's, and there was enquiry about my maſter, but I told them all good. There was Dr. Bernard of Eaton, and we made a noiſe all the evening; and there was Pepys, and Wraxal till I drove him away. And I have no loſs of my miſtreſs, who laughs and friſks, and frolicks it all the long day, and never thinks of poor Colin.

If Mr. Thrale will but continue to mend, we ſhall, I hope, come together again, and do as good things as ever we did; but perhaps you will be made too proud to heed me, and yet as I have often told you, it will not be eaſy for you to find ſuch another.

Queeney has been a good girl, and wrote me a letter; if Burney ſaid ſhe would write, ſhe told you a fib. She writes nothing to me. She can write home faſt enough. I have a good mind not to let her know, that Dr. Bernard, to whom I had recommended her novel, ſpeaks of it with great commendation, and that the copy which ſhe lent me, has been read by Dr. Lawrence three times over. And yet what a gypſey it is. She no more minds me than if I were a Brangton. Pray ſpeak to Queeney to write again.

I have had a cold and a cough, and taken opium, and think I am better. We have had very cold weather;

weather; bad riding weather for my maſter, but he will ſurmount it all. Did Mrs. Browne make any reply to your compariſon of buſineſs with ſolitude, or did you quite down her? I am much pleaſed to think that Mrs. Cotton thinks me worth a frame, and a place upon her wall; her kindneſs was hardly within my hope, but time does wonderful things. All my fear is, that if I ſhould come again, my print would be taken down. I fear I ſhall never hold it.

Who dines with you? Do you ſee Dr. Woodward or Dr. Harrington? Do you go to the houſe where they write for the myrtle? You are at all places of high reſort, and bring home hearts by dozens; while I am ſeeking for ſomething to ſay about men of whom I know nothing but their verſes, and ſometimes very little of them. Now I have begun, however, I do not deſpair of making an end. Mr. Nicholls holds that Addiſon is the moſt *taking* of all that I have done. I doubt they will not be done before you come away.

Now you think yourſelf the firſt writer in the world for a letter about nothing. Can you write ſuch a letter as this? So miſcellaneous, with ſuch noble diſdain of regularity; like Shakeſpeare's works, ſuch graceful negligence of tranſition, like the ancient enthuſiaſts? The pure voice of nature and of friendſhip. Now of whom ſhall I proceed to ſpeak? Of whom but Mrs. Montague? Having mentioned Shakeſpeare and Nature, does not the name of Montague force itſelf upon me? Such were the tranſitions of the ancients, which now ſeem abrupt, becauſe the intermediate idea is loſt to modern underſtandings. I wiſh her name had connected itſelf with

friendſhip; but, ah Colin, thy hopes are in vain! One thing however is left me, I have ſtill to complain; but I hope I ſhall not complain much while you have any kindneſs for me. I am, deareſt and deareſt Madam, your, *&c.*

London, April 11, 1780.

LETTER XLIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM,

MR. Thrale never will live abſtinently, till he can perſuade himſelf to abſtain by rule. I lived on potatoes on Friday, and on ſpinach to-day; but I have had, I am afraid, too many dinners of late. I took phyſick too both days, and hope to faſt to-morrow. When he comes home, we will ſhame him, and Jebb ſhall ſcold him into regularity. I am glad, however, that he is always one of the company, and that my dear Queeney is again another. Encourage as you can, the muſical girl.

Nothing is more common than mutual diſlike where mutual approbation is particularly expected. There is often on both ſides a vigilance not over benevolent; and as attention is ſtrongly excited, ſo that nothing drops unheeded, any difference in taſte or opinion, and ſome difference where there is no reſtraint will commonly appear, it immediately generates diſlike.

Never let criticiſms operate upon your face or your mind; it is very rarely that an author is hurt by his criticks. The blaze of reputation cannot be blown out, but it often dies in the ſocket; a very few names

names may be confidered as perpetual lamps that fhine unconfumed. From the author of Fitzofborne's Letters I cannot think myfelf in much danger. I met him only once about thirty years ago, and in fome fmall difpute reduced him to whiftle; having not feen him fince, that is the laft impreffion. Poor Moor the Fabulift was one of the company.

Mrs. Montague's long ftay againft her own inclination, is very convenient. You would, by your own confeffion, want a companion; and fhe is, *par pluribus*, converfing with her you may *find variety in one.*

At Mrs. Ord's I met one Mrs. B———, a travelled lady, of great fpirit, and fome confcioufnefs of her own abilities. We had a conteft of gallantry an hour long, fo much to the diverfion of the company, that at Ramfay's laft night, in a crowded room, they would have pitted us again. There were Smelt, and the Bifhop of St. Afaph, who comes to every place; and Lord Monboddo, and Sir Jofhua, and ladies out of tale.

The exhibition, how will you do, either to fee or not to fee! The exhibition is eminently fplendid. There is contour, and keeping, and grace, and expreffion, and all the varieties of artificial excellence. The apartments were truly very noble. The pictures, for the fake of a fky-light, are at the top of the houfe; there we dined, and I fat over againft the Archbifhop of York. See how I live when I am not under petticoat government. I am, *&c.*

London, May 1, 1780.

LETTER XLIV. *To Mrs.* Thrale.

DEAR MADAM, London, June 9, 1780.

TO the queſtion, Who was impreſſed with conſternation? it may with great truth be anſwered, that every body was impreſſed, for nobody was ſure of his ſafety.

On Friday the good Proteſtants met in St. George's Fields, at the ſummons of Lord George Gordon, and marching to Weſtminſter, inſulted the Lords and Commons, who all bore it with great tameneſs. At night the outrages began by the demolition of the maſs-houſe by Lincoln's Inn.

An exact journal of a week's defiance of government I cannot give you. On Monday Mr. Strahan, who had been inſulted, ſpoke to Lord Mansfield, who had I think been inſulted too, of the licentiouſneſs of the populace; and his Lordſhip treated it as a very ſlight irregularity. On Tueſday night they pulled down Fielding's houſe, and burnt his goods in the ſtreet. They had gutted on Monday Sir George Savile's houſe, but the building was ſaved. On Tueſday evening, leaving Fielding's ruins, they went to Newgate to demand their companions who had been ſeized demoliſhing the chapel. The keeper could not releaſe them but by the Mayor's permiſſion, which he went to aſk; at his return he found all the priſoners releaſed, and Newgate in a blaze. They then went to Bloomſbury, and faſtened upon Lord Mansfield's houſe, which they pulled down; and as for his goods, they totally burnt them.

They

They have ſince gone to Cane-wood, but a guard was there before them. They plundered ſome Papiſts, I think, and burnt a maſs-houſe in Moorfields the ſame night.

On Wedneſday I walked with Dr. Scot to look at Newgate, and found it in ruins, with the fire yet glowing. As I went by, the Proteſtants were plundering the Seſſions-houſe at the Old Bailey. There were not, I believe, a hundred ; but they did their work at leiſure, in full ſecurity, without ſentinels, without trepidation, as men lawfully employed, in full day. Such is the cowardice of a commercial place. On Wedneſday they broke open the Fleet, and the King's-Bench, and the Marſhalſea, and Woodſtreet-counter, and Clerkenwell Bridewell, and releaſed all the priſoners.

At night they ſet fire to the Fleet, and to the King's-Bench, and I know not how many other places ; and one might ſee the glare of conflagration fill the ſky from many parts. The ſight was dreadful. Some people were threatened ; Mr. Strahan adviſed me to take care of myſelf. Such a time of terror you have been happy in not ſeeing.

The King ſaid in council, that the magiſtrates had not done their duty, but that he would do his own ; and a proclamation was publiſhed, directing us to keep our ſervants within doors, as the peace was now to be preſerved by force. The ſoldiers were ſent out to different parts, and the town is now at quiet.

What has happened at your houſe you will know, the harm is only a few butts of beer ; and I think you may be ſure that the danger is over. There is a body of ſoldiers at St. Margaret's Hill,

Of Mr. Tyſon I know nothing, nor can gueſs to what he can allude; but I know that a young fellow of little more than ſeventy, is naturally an unreſiſted conqueror of hearts.

Pray tell Mr. Thrale that I live here and have no fruit, and if he does not interpoſe, am not likely to have much; but I think he might as well give me a little, as give all to the gardener.

Pray make my compliments to Queeney and Burney. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XLV. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, June 10, 1780.

YOU have ere now heard and read enough to convince you, that we have had ſomething to ſuffer, and ſomething to fear, and therefore I think it neceſſary to quiet the ſolicitude which you undoubtedly feel, by telling you that our calamities and terrors are now at an end. The ſoldiers are ſtationed ſo as to be every where within call; there is no longer any body of rioters, and the individuals are hunted to their holes, and led to priſon; the ſtreets are ſafe and quiet; Lord George was laſt night ſent to the Tower. Mr. John Wilkes was this day with a party of ſoldiers in my neighbourhood, to ſeize the publiſher of a ſeditious paper. Every body walks, and eats, and ſleeps in ſecurity. But the hiſtory of the laſt week would fill you with amazement, it is without any modern example.

Several chapels have been deſtroyed, and ſeveral inoffenſive Papiſts have been plundered, but the high ſport

ſport was to burn the jails. This was a good rabble trick. The debtors and the criminals were all ſet at liberty; but of the criminals, as has always happened, many are already retaken, and two pirates have ſurrendered themſelves, and it is expected that they will be pardoned.

Government now acts again with its proper force; and we are all again under the protection of the King and the law. I thought that it would be agreeable to you and my maſter to have my teſtimony to the publick ſecurity; and that you would ſleep more quietly when I told you that you are ſafe. I am, deareſt Lady, your, *&c.*

LETTER XLVI. *To the Same.*

DEAREST MADAM, London, April 5, 1781.

OF your injunctions, to pray for you and write to you, I hope to leave neither unobſerved; and I hope to find you willing in a ſhort time to alleviate your trouble by ſome other exerciſe of the mind. I am not without my part of the calamity. No death ſince that of my wife has ever oppreſſed me like this. But let us remember, that we are in the hands of Him who knows when to give and when to take away; who will look upon us with mercy through all our variations of exiſtence, and who invites us to call on him in the day of trouble. Call upon him in this great revolution of life, and call with confidence. You will then find comfort for the paſt, and ſupport for the future. He that has given you happineſs in mar-

riage,

riage, to a degree of which, without perſonal knowledge, I ſhould have thought the deſcription fabulous, can give you another mode of happineſs, as a mother; and at laſt the happineſs of loſing all temporal cares in the thoughts of an eternity in heaven.

I do not exhort you to reaſon yourſelf into tranquillity. We muſt firſt pray, and then labour; firſt implore the bleſſing of God, and thoſe means which he puts into our hands. Cultivated ground has few weeds; a mind occupied by lawful buſineſs, has little room for uſeleſs regret.

We read the will to-day; but I will not fill my firſt letter with any other account than that, with all my zeal for your advantage, I am ſatisfied; and that the other executors, more uſed to conſider property than I, commended it for wiſdom and equity. Yet why ſhould I not tell you that you have five hundred pounds for your immediate expences, and two thouſand pounds a-year, with both the houſes, and all the goods?

Let us pray for one another, that the time, whether long or ſhort, that ſhall yet be granted us, may be well ſpent; and that when this life, which at the longeſt is very ſhort, ſhall come to an end, a better may begin which ſhall never end. I am, deareſt Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER XLVII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, April 7, 1781.

I HOPE you begin to find your mind grow clearer. My part of the loſs hangs upon me. I have loſt a friend of boundleſs kindneſs at an age when it is very unlikely that I ſhould find another.

If you think change of place likely to relieve you, there is no reaſon why you ſhould not go to Bath; the diſtances are unequal, but with regard to practice and buſineſs they are the ſame. It is a day's journey from either place; and the poſt is more expeditious and certain to Bath. Conſult only your own inclination, for there is really no other principle of choice. God direct and bleſs you.

Mr. C——— has offered Mr. P——— money, but it was not wanted. I hope we ſhall all do all we can to make you leſs unhappy, and you muſt do all you can for yourſelf. What we, or what you can do, will for a time be but little; yet certainly that calamity which may be conſidered as doomed to fall inevitably on half mankind, is not finally without alleviation.

It is ſomething for me, that as I have not the decrepitude I have not the callouſneſs of old age. I hope in time to be leſs afflicted. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XLVIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAREST MADAM, London, April 9, 1781.

THAT you are gradually recovering your tranquillity, is the effect to be humbly expected from trust in God. Do not represent life as darker than it is. Your loss has been very great, but you retain more than almost any other can hope to possess. You are high in the opinion of mankind; you have children from whom much pleasure may be expected; and that you will find many friends, you have no reason to doubt. Of my friendship, be it worth more or less, I hope you think yourself certain, without much art or care. It will not be easy for me to repay the benefits that I have received; but I hope to be always ready at your call. Our sorrow has different effects; you are withdrawn into solitude, and I am driven into company. I am afraid of thinking what I have lost. I never had such a friend before. Let me have your prayers and those of my dear Queeney.

The prudence and resolution of your design to return so soon to your business and your duty deserves great praise; I shall communicate it on Wednesday to the other executors. Be pleased to let me know whether you would have me come to Streatham to receive you, or stay here till the next day. I am, &c.

LETTER XLIX. *To the Same.*

Bolt-court, Fleet-ſtreet,
DEAR MADAM, June 19, 1783.

I AM ſitting down in no chearful ſolitude to write a narrative which would once have affected you with tenderneſs and ſorrow, but which you will perhaps paſs over now with a careleſs glance of frigid indifference. For this diminution of regard however, I know not whether I ought to blame you, who may have reaſons which I cannot know, and I do not blame myſelf, who have for a great part of human life done you what good I could, and have never done you evil.

I had been diſordered in the uſual way, and had been relieved by the uſual methods, by opium and catharticks, but had rather leſſened my doſe of opium.

On Monday the 16th I ſat for my picture, and walked a conſiderable way with little inconvenience. In the afternoon and evening I felt myſelf light and eaſy, and began to plan ſchemes of life. Thus I went to bed, and in a ſhort time waked and ſat up, as has been long my cuſtom, when I felt a confuſion and indiſtinctneſs in my head, which laſted I ſuppoſe about half a minute; I was alarmed, and prayed God, that however he might afflict my body, he would ſpare my underſtanding. This prayer, that I might try the integrity of my faculties, I made in Latin verſe. The lines were not very good, but I knew them not to be very good: I made them eaſily, and

and concluded myſelf to be unimpaired in my faculties.

Soon after I perceived that I had ſuffered a paralytick ſtroke, and that my ſpeech was taken from me. I had no pain, and ſo little dejection in this dreadful ſtate, that I wondered at my own apathy, and conſidered that perhaps death itſelf when it ſhould come, would excite leſs horrour than ſeems now to attend it.

In order to rouſe the vocal organs I took two drams. Wine has been celebrated for the production of eloquence. I put myſelf into violent motion, and I think repeated it; but all was vain. I then went to bed, and, ſtrange as it may ſeem, I think, ſlept. When I ſaw light, it was time to contrive what I ſhould do. Though God ſtopped my ſpeech he left me my hand, I enjoyed a mercy which was not granted to my dear friend Lawrence, who now perhaps overlooks me as I am writing, and rejoices that I have what he wanted. My firſt note was neceſſarily to my ſervant, who came in talking, and could not immediately comprehend why he ſhould read what I put into his hands.

I then wrote a card to Mr. Allen, that I might have a diſcreet friend at hand to act as occaſion ſhould require. In penning this note I had ſome difficulty; my hand, I knew not how nor why, made wrong letters. I then wrote to Dr. Taylor to come to me, and bring Dr. Herberden, and I ſent to Dr. Brockleſby, who is my neighbour. My phyſicians are very friendly and very diſintereſted, and give me great hopes, but you may imagine my ſituation. I

have

have ſo far recovered my vocal powers, as to repeat the Lord's Prayer with no very imperfect articulation. My memory, I hope, yet remains as it was; but ſuch an attack produces ſolicitude for the ſafety of every faculty.

How this will be received by you I know not. I hope you will ſympathiſe with me; but perhaps

My miſtreſs gracious, mild, and good,
Cries! Is he dumb? 'Tis time he ſhou'd.

But can this be poſſible? I hope it cannot. I hope that what, when I could ſpeak, I ſpoke of you, and to you, will be in a ſober and ſerious hour remembered by you; and ſurely it cannot be remembered but with ſome degree of kindneſs. I have loved you with virtuous affection; I have honoured you with ſincere eſteem. Let not all our endearments be forgotten, but let me have in this great diſtreſs your pity and your prayers. You ſee I yet turn to you with my complaints, as a ſettled and unalienable friend; do not, do not drive me from you, for I have not deſerved either neglect or hatred.

To the girls, who do not write often, for Suſy has written only once, and Miſs Thrale owes me a letter, I earneſtly recommend, as their guardian and friend, that they remember their Creator in the days of their youth.

I ſuppoſe you may wiſh to know how my diſeaſe is treated by the phyſicians. They put a bliſter upon my back, and two from my ear to my throat, one on a ſide. The bliſter on the back has done little, and thoſe on the throat have not riſen. I bullied and

bounced,

bounced, (it ſticks to our laſt ſand,) and compelled the apothecary to make his ſalve according to the Edinburgh Diſpenſatory, that it might adhere better. I have two on now of my own preſcription. They likewiſe give me ſalt of hartſhorn, which I take with no great confidence, but I am ſatisfied that what can be done is done for me.

O God! give me comfort and confidence in Thee: forgive my ſins; and, if it be thy good pleaſure, relieve my diſeaſes for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. Amen.

I am almoſt aſhamed of this querulous letter, but now it is written, let it go. I am, *&c.*

LETTER L. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM,

AMONG thoſe that have enquired after me, Sir Philip is one; and Dr. Burney was one of thoſe who came to ſee me. I have had no reaſon to complain of indifference or neglect. Dick Burney is come home five inches taller.

Yeſterday in the evening I went to church, and have been to-day to ſee the great burning glaſs, which does more than was ever done before by the tranſmiſſion of the rays, but is not equal in power to thoſe which reflect them. It waſtes a diamond placed in the focus, but cauſes no diminution of pure gold. Of the rubies expoſed to its action, one was made more vivid, the other paler. To ſee the glaſs, I climbed up ſtairs to the garret, and then up a ladder to the leads, and talked to the artiſt rather too long;

for

for my voice, though clear and diſtinct for a little while, ſoon tires and falters. The organs of ſpeech are yet very feeble, but will I hope be by the mercy of God finally reſtored: at preſent, like any other weak limb, they can endure but little labour at once. Would you not have been very ſorry for me when I could ſcarcely ſpeak?

Freſh cantharides were this morning applied to my head, and are to be continued ſome time longer. If they play me no treacherous tricks, they give me very little pain.

Let me have your kindneſs and your prayers; and think on me, as on a man who, for a very great portion of your life, has done you all the good he could, and deſires ſtill to be conſidered, Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER LI. *To the Same.*

DEAREST MADAM, London, July 1, 1783.

THIS morning I took the air by a ride to Hampſtead, and this afternoon I dined with the club. But freſh cantharides were this day applied to my head.

Mr. Cator called on me to-day, and told that he had invited you back to Streatham. I ſhewed the unfitneſs of your return thither, till the neighbourhood ſhould have loſt its habits of depredation, and he ſeemed to be ſatisfied. He invited me very kindly and cordially to try the air of Beckenham, and pleaſed me very much by his affectionate attention to Miſs Vezy. There is much good in his character, and much uſefulneſs in his knowledge.

Queeney ſeems now to have forgotten me. Of the different appearance of the hills and vallies an ac-

 count

count may perhaps be given, without the ſuppoſition of any prodigy. If ſhe had been out and the evening was breezy, the exhalations would riſe from the low grounds very copiouſly; and the wind that ſwept and cleared the hills, would only by its cold condenſe the vapours of the ſheltered vallies.

Murphy is juſt gone from me; he viſits me very kindly, and I have no unkindneſs to complain of.

I am ſorry that Sir Philip's requeſt was not treated with more reſpect, nor can I imagine what has put them ſo much out of humour: I hope their buſineſs is proſperous.

I hope that I recover by degrees, but my nights are reſtleſs; and you will ſuppoſe the nervous ſyſtem to be ſomewhat enfeebled. I am, Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER LII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

London, October 9, 1783.

TWO nights ago Mr. Burke ſat with me a long time; he ſeems much pleaſed with his journey. We had both ſeen Stonehenge this ſummer for the firſt time. I told him that the view had enabled me to confute two opinions which have been advanced about it. One, that the materials are not natural ſtones, but an artificial compoſition hardened by time. This notion is as old as Camden's time; and has this ſtrong argument to ſupport it that ſtone of that ſpecies is no where to be found. The other opinion, advanced by Dr. Charlton, is, that it was erected by the Danes.

Mr.

Mr. Bowles made me obſerve, that the tranſverſe ſtones were fixed on the perpendicular ſupporters by a knob formed on the top of the upright ſtone, which entered into a hollow cut in the croſſing ſtone. This is a proof that the enormous edifice was raiſed by a people who had not yet the knowledge of mortar; which cannot be ſuppoſed of the Danes, who came hither in ſhips, and were not ignorant certainly of the arts of life. This proves likewiſe the ſtones not to be factitious; for they that could mould ſuch durable maſſes could do much more than make mortar, and could have continued the tranſverſe from the upright part with the ſame paſte.

You have doubtleſs ſeen Stonehenge, and if you have not, I ſhould think it a hard taſk to make an adequate deſcription.

It is, in my opinion, to be referred to the earlieſt habitation of the iſland, as a druidical monument of at leaſt two thouſand years; probably the moſt ancient work of man upon the iſland. Saliſbury cathedral and its neighbour Stonehenge, are two eminent monuments of art and rudeneſs, and may ſhow the firſt eſſay, and the laſt perfection, in architecture.

I have not yet ſettled my thoughts about the generation of light air, which I indeed once ſaw produced, but I was at the height of my great complaint. I have made enquiry, and ſhall ſoon be able to tell you how to fill a ballon. I am, Madam, your, *&c.*

LETTER LIII. *To Mrs.* THRALE.

DEAR MADAM, London, Dec. 27, 1783.

THE wearifome folitude of the long evenings did indeed fuggeft to me the convenience of a club in my neighbourhood, but I have been hindered from attending it by want of breath. If I can complete the fcheme, you fhall have the names and the regulations.

The time of the year, for I hope the fault is rather in the weather than in me, has been very hard upon me. The mufcles of my breaft are much convulfed. Dr. Heberden recommends opiates, of which I have fuch horrour that I do not think of them but *in extremis*. I was however driven to them laft night for refuge, and having taken the ufual quantity, durft not go to bed, for fear of that uneafinefs to which a fupine pofture expofes me, but refted all night in a chair with much relief, and have been to-day more warm, active, and cheerful.

You have more than once wondered at my complaint of folitude, when you hear that I am crowned with vifits. *Inopem me copia fecit.* Vifitors are no proper companions in the chamber of ficknefs. They come when I could fleep or read, they ftay till I am weary, they force me to attend when my mind calls for relaxation, and to fpeak when my powers will hardly actuate my tongue. The amufements and confolations of languor and depreffion are conferred by familiar and domeftick companions, which can be vifited or called at will, and can occafionally be quitted or difmiffed, who do not obftruct accommodation

tion by ceremony, or deſtroy indolence by awakening effort.

Such ſociety I had with Levet and Williams; ſuch I had where—I am never likely to have it more.

I wiſh, dear Lady, to you and my dear girls many a cheerful and pious Chriſtmas. I am, your, *&c.*

LETTER LIV. *To Mrs.* PIOZZI.

DEAR MADAM, London, July 8, 1784.

WHAT you have done, however I may lament it, I have no pretence to reſent, as it has not been injurious to me; I therefore breath out one ſigh more of tenderneſs, perhaps uſeleſs, but at leaſt ſincere.

I wiſh that God may grant you every bleſſing, that you may be happy in this world for its ſhort continuance, and eternally happy in a better ſtate; and whatever I can contribute to your happineſs I am very ready to repay, for that kindneſs which ſoothed twenty years of a life radically wretched.

Do not think ſlightly of the advice which I now preſume to offer. Prevail upon Mr. Piozzi to ſettle in England: you may live here with more dignity than in Italy, and with more ſecurity; your rank will be higher, and your fortune more under your own eye. I deſire not to detail all my reaſons, but every argument of prudence and intereſt is for England, and only ſome phantoms of imagination ſeduce you to Italy.

I am afraid however that my counſel is vain, yet I have eaſed my heart by giving it.

When Queen Mary took the resolution of sheltering herself in England, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, attempting to dissuade her, attended on her journey; and when they came to the irremeable stream that separated the two kingdoms, walked by her side into the water, in the middle of which he seized her bridle, and with earnestness proportioned to her danger and his own affection pressed her to return. The Queen went forward.—If the parallel reaches thus far, may it go no farther.—The tears stand in my eyes.

I am going into Derbyshire, and hope to be followed by your good wishes, for I am, with great affection, your, *&c.*

PRAYERS,

COMPOSED BY

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

PRAYERS.

On my Birth-Day.

September $\frac{7}{18}$, 1738.

O GOD, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, Father of all mercies, I thine unworthy servant do give Thee most humble thanks, for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to me. I bless thee for my creation, preservation, and redemption, for the knowledge of thy son Jesus Christ, for the means of grace and the hope of glory. In the days of childhood and youth, in the midst of weakness, blindness, and danger, Thou hast protected me; amidst afflictions of mind, body, and estate, Thou hast supported me; and amidst vanity and wickedness Thou hast spared me. Grant, O merciful Father, that I may have a lively sense of thy mercies. Create in me a contrite heart, that I may worthily lament my sins and acknowledge my wickedness, and obtain remission

miſſion and forgiveneſs, through the ſatisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt. And, O Lord, enable me, by thy grace, to redeem the time I have ſpent in ſloth, vanity, and wickedneſs; to make uſe of thy gifts to the honour of thy name; to lead a new life in thy faith, fear, and love; and finally to obtain everlaſting life. Grant this, Almighty Lord, for the merits and through the mediation of our moſt holy and bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt, Three Perſons and One God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Tranſcribed June 26, 1768.

This is the firſt ſolemn prayer, of which I have a copy. Whether I compoſed any before this I queſtion.

Prayer on the Rambler.

ALMIGHTY God, the giver of all good things, without whoſe help all labour is ineffectual, and without whoſe grace all wiſdom is folly; grant, I beſeech Thee, that in this my undertaking, thy Holy Spirit may not be withheld from me, but that I may promote thy glory, and the ſalvation both of myſelf and others; grant this, O Lord, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

Composed by me on the Death of my Wife, and reposited among her Memorials, May 8, 1752.

DEUS EXAUDI.——HEU!

April 24, 1752.

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, who lovest those whom Thou punishest, and turnest away thy anger from the penitent, look down with pity upon my sorrows, and grant that the affliction which it has pleased Thee to bring upon me, may awaken my conscience, enforce my resolutions of a better life, and impress upon me such conviction of thy power and goodness, that I may place in Thee my only felicity, and endeavour to please Thee in all my thoughts, words, and actions. Grant, O Lord, that I may not languish in fruitless and unavailing sorrow, but that I may consider from whose hand all good and evil is received, and may remember that I am punished for my sins, and hope for comfort only by repentance. Grant, O merciful God, that by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit I may repent, and be comforted, obtain that peace which the world cannot give, pass the residue of my life in humble resignation and cheerful obedience; and when it shall please Thee to call me from this mortal state, resign myself into thy hands with faith and confidence, and finally obtain mercy and everlasting happiness, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

May 6, 1752.

O LORD, our heavenly Father, without whom all purposes are frustrate, all efforts are vain, grant me the assistance of thy Holy Spirit, that I may not sorrow as one without hope, but may now return to the Duties of my present state with humble confidence in thy protection, and so govern my thoughts, and actions, that neither business may withdraw my mind from Thee, nor idleness lay me open to vain imaginations; that neither praise may fill me with pride, nor censure with discontent; but that in the changes of this life, I may fix my heart upon the reward which Thou hast promised to them that serve Thee, and that whatever things are true, whatever things are honest, whatever things are just, whatever are pure, whatever are lovely, whatever are of good report, wherein there is virtue, wherein there is praise, I may think upon and do, and obtain mercy and everlasting happiness. Grant this, O Lord, for the sake of Jesus Christ, Amen.

Fl. Lacr.

March 28, in the morning, 1754.

O GOD, who on this day wert pleased to take from me my dear wife, sanctify to me my sorrows and reflections. Grant that I may renew and practise the resolutions which I made when thy afflicting hand was upon me. Let the remembrance of thy judgements, by which my wife is taken away, awaken me to repentance; and the sense of thy mercy, by

by which I am ſpared, ſtrengthen my hope and confidence in Thee, that by the aſſiſtance and comfort of thy Holy Spirit, I may ſo paſs through things temporal, as finally to gain everlaſting happineſs, and to paſs, by a holy and happy death, into the joy which Thou haſt prepared for thoſe that love Thee. Grant this, O Lord, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

Jan. 23, 1759.

The day on which my dear Mother was buried.

ALMIGHTY God, merciful Father, in whoſe hands are life and death, ſanctify unto me the ſorrow which I now feel. Forgive me whatever I have done unkindly to my mother, and whatever I have omitted to do kindly. Make me to remember her good precepts and good example, and to reform my life according to thy holy word, that I may loſe no more opportunities of good. I am ſorrowful, O Lord; let not my ſorrow be without fruit. Let it be followed by holy reſolutions, and laſting amendment, that when I ſhall die like my mother, I may be received to everlaſting life.

I commend, O Lord, ſo far as it may be lawful, into thy hands, the ſoul of my departed mother, beſeeching Thee to grant her whatever is moſt beneficial to her in her preſent ſtate.

O Lord, grant me thy Holy Spirit, and have mercy upon me for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. Amen.

And, O Lord, grant unto me that am now about to return to the common comforts and buſineſs of the world, ſuch moderation in all enjoyments, ſuch dili-

gence

gence in honeſt labour, and ſuch purity of mind, that, amidſt the changes, miſeries, or pleaſures of life, I may keep my mind fixed upon Thee, and improve every day in grace, till I ſhall be received into thy kingdom of eternal happineſs.

March 25, 1759.

ALMIGHTY God, heavenly Father, who haſt graciouſly prolonged my life to this time, and by the change of outward things which I am now to make, calleſt me to a change of inward affections, and to a reformation of my thoughts, words, and practices; vouchſafe, merciful Lord, that this call may not be in vain. Forgive me whatever has been amiſs in the ſtate which I am now leaving, idleneſs, and neglect of thy word and worſhip. Grant me the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that the courſe which I am now beginning may proceed according to thy laws, and end in the enjoyment of thy favour. Give me, O Lord, pardon and peace, that I may ſerve thee with humble confidence, and after this life, enjoy thy preſence in eternal happineſs.

And, O Lord, ſo far as it may be lawful for me, I commend to thy Fatherly goodneſs, my father, my brother, my wife, my mother. I beſeech thee to look mercifully upon them, and grant them whatever may moſt promote their preſent and eternal joy.

O Lord, hear my prayers for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt, Three Perſons and One God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

O Lord,

O Lord, let the change, which I am now making in outward things, produce in me ſuch a change of manners, as may fit me for the great change through which my wife has paſſed.

Jan. 1, primâ mane, 1770.

ALMIGHTY God, by whoſe mercy I am permitted to behold the beginning of another year, ſuccour with thy help, and bleſs with thy favour, the creature whom Thou vouchſafeſt to preſerve. Mitigate, if it ſhall ſeem beſt unto Thee, the diſeaſes of my body, and compoſe the diſorders of my mind. Diſpel my terrours; and grant, that the time which Thou ſhalt yet allow me, may not paſs unprofitably away. Let not pleaſure ſeduce me, idleneſs lull me, or miſery depreſs me. Let me perform to thy glory, and the good of my fellow-creatures, the work which Thou ſhalt yet appoint me; and grant, that as I draw nearer to my diſſolution, I may, by the help of thy Holy Spirit, feel my knowledge of Thee encreaſed, my hope exalted, and my faith ſtrengthened; that when the hour which is coming ſhall come, I may paſs by a holy death to everlaſting happineſs, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

January 1, 2 P. M. 1777.

ALMIGHTY Lord, merciful Father, vouchſafe to accept the thanks which I now preſume to offer Thee, for the prolongation of my life. Grant, O Lord, that as my days are multiplied, my good reſo-

lutions

lutions may be ſtrengthened, my power of reſiſting temptations encreaſed, and my ſtruggles with ſnares and obſtructions invigorated. Relieve the infirmities both of my mind and body. Grant me ſuch ſtrength as my duties may require, and ſuch diligence as may improve thoſe opportunities of good that ſhall be offered me. Deliver me from the intruſion of evil thoughts. Grant me true repentance of my paſt life; and as I draw nearer and nearer to the grave, ſtrengthen my faith, enliven my hope, extend my charity, and purify my deſires; and ſo help me, by thy Holy Spirit, that when it ſhall be thy pleaſure to call me hence, I may be received to everlaſting happineſs, for the ſake of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

Our Father—

Sept. 18, 1779.

ALMIGHTY God, Creator of all things, in whoſe hands are life and death, glory be to Thee for all thy mercies, and for the prolongation of my life to the common age of man. Pardon me, O gracious God, all the offences which in the courſe of ſeventy years I have committed againſt thy holy laws, and all negligences of thoſe duties which Thou haſt required. Look with pity upon me, take not from me thy Holy Spirit, but enable me to paſs the days which Thou ſhalt yet vouchſafe to grant me, in thy fear, and to thy glory; and accept, O Lord, the remains of a miſpent life, that when thou ſhalt call me to another ſtate, I may be received to everlaſting happineſs, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

June 22, 1781.

ALMIGHTY God, who art the giver of all good, enable me to remember with due thankfulneſs, the comforts and advantages which I have enjoyed by the friendſhip of Henry Thrale, for whom, ſo far as is lawful, I humbly implore thy mercy in his preſent ſtate. O Lord, ſince thou haſt been pleaſed to call him from this world, look with mercy on thoſe whom he has left; continue to ſuccour me by ſuch means as are beſt for me, and repay to his relations the kindneſs which I have received from him; protect them in this world from temptations and calamities, and grant them happineſs in the world to come, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. Amen.

On leaving Mr. Thrale's Family.

October 6, 1782.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of all mercy, help me, by thy grace, that I may with humble and ſincere thankfulneſs remember the comforts and conveniencies which I have enjoyed at this place, and that I may reſign them with holy ſubmiſſion, equally truſting in thy protection when Thou giveſt and when Thou takeſt away. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, have mercy upon me.

To thy fatherly protection, O Lord, I commend this family. Bleſs, guide, and defend them, that they may ſo paſs through this world, as finally to enjoy in thy preſence everlaſting happineſs, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. Amen.

[The following Prayer was composed and used by Doctor Johnson previous to his receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on Sunday December 5, 1784.]

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, I am now, as to human eyes it seems, about to commemorate, for the *last time, the death of thy Son Jesus Christ our Saviour and Redeemer. Grant, O Lord, that my whole hope and confidence may be in his merits and thy mercy; enforce and accept my imperfect repentance; make this commemoration available to the confirmation of my faith, the establishment of my hope, and the enlargement of my charity; and make the death of thy Son Jesus Christ effectual to my redemption. Have mercy upon me, and pardon the multitude of my offences. Bless my friends; have mercy upon all men. Support me, by thy Holy Spirit, in the days of weakness, and at the hour of death; and receive me, at my death, to everlasting happiness, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen.

* He died the 13th following.

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paid him, 285. Placed at a ſmall grammar-ſchool near St. Albans, 285. Lord Rivers on his death-bed enquires particularly of him, and is aſſured by his mother that he was dead, by which he loſes 6000 *l.* left him by his father, 286. His mother attempts to ſend him to America ſecretly, 287. His mother places him with a ſhoe-maker in Holborn, 288. On the death of his nurſe, diſcovers his parents, 288. Applies to his mother, who reſolves to neglect him, 288. Became an author through neceſſity, 289. Publiſhes his firſt Poems againſt the Biſhop of Bangor, 289. Writes his firſt play, Woman's a Riddle, in his eighteenth year, 290. At twenty-one writes Love in a Veil, 291. Is patronized by Sir Richard Steele, 291. Story of his going with Sir R. Steele, and writing a pamphlet, which he ſells for two guineas, to raiſe money, 292. Steele propoſes to marry one of his natural daughters to Savage, 293. Steele diſcards him, 293. Through the interceſſion of Wilks obtains 50 *l.* from his mother, 295. Frequents the Stage, becomes acquainted with Mrs. Oldfield, who allows him 50 *l.* a year during her life, 296. Mr. Wilks occaſionally allows him a benefit, which is counteracted by his mother, 297. Writes the tragedy of Sir Tho. Overbury, 298. Cibber corrects the tragedy, 299. Experiences the Friendſhip of Aaron Hill, who writes the Prologue and Epilogue to the tragedy of Overbury, 300. Acts the part of Overbury, 300. Seventy guineas left for Savage, by Mr. Hill's publiſhing his caſe in the Plain Dealer, 302. His flattery of Lady M. W. Montague in his Dedication to his volume of Poems, 303. Adds to his reputation by his poem on the death of Geo. I. 304. Account of his killing Mr. James Sinclair, 305. His trial and defence, 308. Is found guilty of murder, 309. He obtains a pardon, although it had been greatly obſtructed by his mother, 310. Further accounts of his mother's enmity, 311. Meets the principal evidence againſt him in diſtreſs, and divides his only guinea with her, 314. His own opinion of the killing of Sinclair, 315. Lived a life of want and plenty, 316. Threatens to publiſh a narrative of his mother's conduct, in hopes of extorting a penſion from her, 317. Received into the family of Lord Tyrconnel, who promiſes him a penſion of 200 *l.* a year, 317. Writes the Author to be Let, 318. The part he had in the Dunciad, 321. His epigram on Dennis, 322. Receives twenty guineas for a panegyrick on Sir R. Walpole, 322. Laments the miſery of living at other men's tables, 323. Publiſhes the Wanderer, with the character of that poem, 324. His peculiar attention to correctneſs in printing, 326. Sells the copy of the Wanderer for ten guineas, 326. His quarrel with Lord Tyrconnel, 328. Writes the Triumph of Health and Mirth, 330. Cloſely ſtudies the great, 331. Again turned adrift on the world, 333. Too much elevated by good fortune, 334. His mother continues her ill treatment of him, 336. The reſentment between Lord Tyrconnel and him kept up for many years, 337. Publiſhes the Baſtard, a Poem, 338. This poem obliges his mother to retire from Bath to London, 339. Ready to accept the praiſes of the people, and

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